'You and me, we're the same. You struggle with Tigrinya, and I struggle with English'

An exploration of an ecological, multilingual approach to language learning with New Scots

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Abstract

Increased migration into Europe has placed integration and language learning for refugees at the centre of political and public discourses. Scotland's Refugee Integration Strategy recognises the importance of linguistic diversity and academic literature also highlights the benefits of multilingual learning. However, most support for language learning for refugees is delivered monolingually, creating a gap between policy, literature, and practice. Research also indicates that women arriving in the UK through family reunion may face additional challenges with language learning.

This thesis presents findings from a five-month teaching study to explore an ecological and multilingual approach to language learning within the specific context of refugee families who have recently arrived in Glasgow through the British Red Cross Family Reunion Integration Service. Using Critical Participatory Action Research and underpinned by decolonising methodology (Phipps, 2019b; Smith, 1999), the research meets the participants within their first tentative weeks in Glasgow and provides unique insights into the nature of the language learning support needed at the point of arrival and shortly afterwards.

The research repositions the role of the participants and their languages by drawing on academic literature on translanguaging (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; García & Wei, 2014b) to explore mutual language learning as linguistic hospitality. This pedagogy, which I term an 'ecologising' of language learning, builds on three key findings:

- The significance of decolonising, collaborative learner/ teacher **relationships** during the liminal phase of refugee arrival
- The importance of **place** and orientation
- An increased understanding of **language and 'languaging'**, drawing on linguistic repertoire, dialogical interaction and the impact of linguistic hospitality

These findings combined to form an approach which participants felt 'empowered' them to learn and allowed for deeper exploration of how policy, practice and academic literature intersect within language learning for refugees, a topic which is unlikely to become any less significant in the coming years.

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A special thank you to my family. To my husband, Ian, for the many hours he has listened patiently to me talk about my PhD, particularly as a captive audience on long car journeys. And to my children, Oliver and Alfie, for sometimes giving up time with me while they were little so I could write this thesis.

The second half of this thesis was written during the COVID-19 pandemic which meant moving from my lovely quiet office space in the School of Education to a makeshift desk in my son's bedroom while my husband worked downstairs and we tried to home school and care for our two children while the pandemic unfolded around us. I could have taken a break from my PhD at this point. Although not contained in this thesis, I knew some of the difficulties my participants faced in their journeys to start new lives in Scotland. I knew that the challenge of writing my thesis under these conditions was nothing compared to what each of you had faced. So, I carried on writing, out of respect for you and a commitment to our shared work.

This thesis is for you Lakmini, Semira, Rushani, Yasmine and Kamila. I hope in the 300 pages that follow I have done you justice. It is for the time we stood up

next to each other to present at the Spring School, for the cold dark evenings we waited for the bus together and for every time you travelled across this strange new city to come to our learning sessions. It is for all the effort you put into our project. I have relived all of these moments in writing this thesis and I know they will stay with me. Thank you for teaching me Tigrinya, Farsi, Tamil and Arabic. Thank you also for all those things which passed between us, like all good intercultural communication, that are 'beyond - or *besides* words' (Thurlow, 2016, p. 503).

Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this thesis is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Printed Name: Sarah Cox Signature:

Dedication

For my two little boys, Alfie and Oliver, who were just three years old and six years old when I started my PhD.

You have grown up around my writing this thesis and over the years I know you have begun to understand more of the reasons why working on this was so important to me. Now you are no longer such little boys of three and six.

This one is for you.

Definitions and Abbreviations

BRC - British Red Cross

FRIS – Family Reunion Integration Service

GRC - German Red Cross

ESOL- English for Speakers of Other Languages

EAL - English as an Additional Language

CPP – Community Planning Partnership

CPAR – Critical Participatory Action Research

VPR – Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme

Prologue

አውቶቡስ Awtobus

Visaikalam விசைக்கலம்

اتوبوس thobus

'there is no such thing as Language, only continual languaging, an activity of human beings in the world' (Becker, 1991, p. 34)

February 4th, 2019

I am standing at the bus stop on Eldon Street, opposite the School of Education with three women and four children I met for the first time this afternoon. It's early evening and we have just finished our first meeting. The biting cold wind stings my cheeks as I peer into the darkness, using my phone to light up the tiny numbers of the bus timetable. The dim streetlights are obscured by the misty rain which is slowly soaking all eight of us. I check my watch. A bus should be coming soon. I dredge my brain for how to say 'five' in Arabic, Tigrinya or Tamil. It has been a long day. I hold up my fingers and say: 'five minutes… hamsa?' seeking confirmation in Arabic. Kamila nods. 'Hamushte' Semira tells me in Tigrinya.

I am surrounded by chatter between the mothers and their children in three languages I do not know: Arabic, Tigrinya and Tamil. Three languages I did not know I would need to try to communicate in before today.

It is early February. We stamp our feet up and down in an effort to keep warm. We are in a city which has become my home over the past twelve years. A city you have each known for just a few days (I found this out this afternoon, via the interpreters).

We stand together as a group, trying to communicate in bits and pieces of each other's languages. Each of us each bringing with us our own understandings of all the other ways we have existed in language before today in other places, with other people. Bringing our languages together from the other places we have each called home.

I peer up the hill on Gibson street towards the library to check if the bus is coming.

Two of the boys run into the road and all four of the women, me included, instinctively reach out and shout in all four of our languages, not knowing each other's words but understanding the look of horror on each other's faces. This moment marks us as a group of women and as mothers.

'Ah' I say, 'the bus!' I point to the headlights turning the corner down the hill onto Gibson Street and heading towards us. 'Awtobus' you tell me in Tigrinya, and I repeat the word, glad of some commonality between our languages. It gives us something to grasp on to.

Although I do not know it yet, the three elements of what I will begin to understand and name as three 'ecologies' are already present in this simple act of standing at the bus stop together this cold dark evening. Relationships, place and language. The five months that follow this evening will simply give them time and space to emerge and distil. We start this journey surrounded by these three elements, and they are present in all that follows.

This is the point where all of these elements combine. We stand in this liminal space between what has gone before and what we will construct together, joining our own experiences and our languages together in a liminal ecology, capturing this place, our relationships and our languages.

This is how it began. With me not knowing your languages or what would unfold. It also started with a policy review and a literature review and although those starting points will find their place in this thesis, they do not capture the reality of trying to navigate our way across an unfamiliar city in languages which were new to all of us, or the solidarity of standing together in this place, existing and being together in language.

Not one language or the other but in all language.

This thesis is an exploration of what it really means to start at ‘day one’. It is an exploration of the mutuality of integration and language learning as solidarity.

I choose to start here, at this bus stop with you on this cold, dark evening waiting for the bus together. I choose to start in Tigrinya, in Arabic, in Tamil and in Farsi. As much as I can.

The bus pulls up in front of us.

Thesis Overview

In this brief introduction, I discuss how I came to the research and explain the structure of the thesis before moving into the first chapter which explores the policy context for the research.

Coming to the research

I came to this research having worked in English language teaching for over twenty years as a teacher and manager both in ESOL contexts in the UK and in contexts where English is a foreign language in Germany, Japan and Cambodia. I have lived in different languages and I have worked in the third sector with refugees and asylum seekers in Glasgow for the past 14 years. My own experience of learning and living in other languages and my understanding of how languages interact in my own mind formed the starting point for this work. This research has allowed me to explore understandings of multilingualism and language learning which have been a lifelong interest and focus within both my personal and professional life.

This thesis began life with ideas sketched out in a glamping pod in Fife after seeing a call for research proposals for a partnership project between Glasgow University and the British Red Cross which I hoped would allow me to combine my interest in multilingualism, my experience in the third sector in Glasgow and my academic interests. I was very fortunate to be successful in my application and the last three years have allowed me to develop a project based on concepts which are dear to me: collaborative learning, mutual integration and language learning.

So, my journey with the PhD began, from a glamping pod in Fife with all of the experiences of teaching languages, learning languages and living interculturally that came with me.

Thesis structure

This thesis is structured in two parts. In part one, I move through the policy context, the literature review and methodology chapters before introducing the findings from the fieldwork in Wales and Germany which form the first stage of

the CPAR spiral. In part two, I focus on the fieldwork in Scotland and the presentation and discussion of the research findings.

In **Chapter one** I establish the political context for this research by discussing the development of the 'hostile environment' and exploring the contrast with the approach taken within Scottish policy. I discuss family reunion and introduce the role of the BRC before examining the specific needs of women joining their partners in Scotland in this way which is the focus of this research. I question the way that the increased migration into Europe has been framed as the 'refugee crisis' and interrogate the way that refugees are received into their host communities.

In **Chapter two** I introduce the academic literature which informs my research by focusing on the four key areas of language ecologies, multilingualism, translanguaging and identity within language learning and I explore how these principles intersect to form my theoretical framework. I highlight the compatibilities between language ecologies and a multilingual approach and state the relevance of Glasgow's position as a superdiverse city. I discuss the dominance of English, linguistic hierarchies and the traditional view of language separation for learning and teaching. I then draw attention to the gaps between policy and practice and the unexplored opportunities for translanguaging which form the basis for the research.

In **Chapter three** I introduce the methodological approach, the research design and methodology, the data analysis and my role within the research. I state the importance of the decolonising, collaborative approach both in terms of the CPAR research design and the position of English by drawing on Phipps' 'decolonising multilingualism' (2019b) and drawing parallels with the New Scots Refugee Integration Strategy (Scottish Government, 2018). I also justify the inclusion of the fieldwork in the Red Cross branches in Newport and Frankfurt. I state the lines of inquiry and discuss the place of 'messiness' (Law, 2004) and eclecticism as method. This lays the foundation for drawing on the broader interdisciplinary base which I return to in Chapters six, seven and eight.

In **Chapter four,** I introduce the fieldwork in Wales and Germany as a first step within the iterative spiral of CPAR. I discuss the work of the BRC in Newport and draw parallels between Wales and Scotland and barriers to language learning for

refugees in these contexts. I then highlight the absence of translanguaging and multilingual approaches for ESOL in Wales.

The second part of Chapter four explores the fieldwork in Germany, the findings of which have greater relevance at structural level due to a better model of funding which results in faster access to language classes. I give an overview of the nationally funded integration course with its focus on accuracy and grammar and I discuss my visit to the GRC language school in Frankfurt am Main. I then highlight the separation of languages and use of monolingual methods and the beliefs which underpin this.

I begin part two of this thesis with **Chapter five** which introduces the pilot study as the first stage of the fieldwork in Scotland. I give an insight into 'day one' of the research by introducing the participants and presenting the 'everyday' topics which shaped the study as a whole. I detail each of the four learning sessions and I give an insight into the key challenges of this initial stage.

I introduce **Chapter five and a half** as a liminal half chapter framed as a bridge between the pilot and the three 'ecologies' chapters which focus on the findings from the main study. I introduce how I began to view the concepts of place, relationships, and language as more significant, overarching themes and how I saw these brought into contact to form an 'ecologising' of language learning. I briefly introduce each of these dimensions, explaining how they intersect as an introduction for the three more detailed discussion chapters which follow.

In **Chapter six** I present the first ecology: relationships. I discuss the balance of power in our work, intergenerational relationships and I explore the fragility of our relationships within the early weeks of the project. I discuss emotional labour and the care and nurture needed at this stage. I explore trust and how Norton's *investment* emerged in our work, emphasising the significance of our wider pedagogical interactions. I highlight the gendered dimension of our work and conclude by discussing the specific challenges the women faced coming to Scotland to join their husbands.

I open **Chapter seven** with the concept of place and its agency within the framework of the three ecologies, and I consider how understandings of 'context' and 'environment' differ, drawing on an understanding of place and

home within human geography and the sense of belonging in parallel realities. I discuss the importance of situating the learning within the physical ecology of Glasgow, bringing concepts of communitas and liminality into the discussion to illustrate the social structures which are suspended within this liminal phase of creating a new identity in a host community. I discuss the importance of our work outside the classroom as orientation to the physical ecology of superdiverse Glasgow.

In **Chapter eight** I introduce the final ecology: language and 'languaging'. I explore translanguaging stances and dispositions, illustrating how we brought these into our work. I explore both the practical benefits of our multilingual approach and the impact of this beyond pedagogy. I discuss the place of repertoire and collective language ecology and the importance of acknowledging participants' existing linguistic knowledge and skills. I highlight the impact of my participating as learner and facilitating translanguaging in languages I do not know and the symmetry this brought to our mutual language learning. I make a case for voice and audibility to be multilingual as an ethical necessity.

In **Chapter nine** I conclude this thesis by drawing the three ecologies together through the synthesis of the research findings. I summarise the key findings and recommendations, I state my contribution to knowledge and I discuss the appropriacy of the CPAR approach and the limitations of the study before making suggestions for future research directions.

Part One: Contextualising the research

Chapter One: The policy context

Introduction

In the first chapter of this thesis, I establish the policy context for immigration and refugee integration in the UK and I consider Scottish policy and how these two contexts contrast and interact with each other. I review key policies and strategies for refugee integration in Scotland and consider the specific focus on support for language learning within them. I then discuss family reunion, the role that the British Red Cross plays in supporting reunited refugee families, and the unique challenges that face women coming to the UK in this way. I begin by situating the research within the UK policy context.

The UK policy context

Immigration and the corresponding support services for migrants within host communities have been placed firmly at the centre of current public and political discourses due to rising migration into Europe and the UK's current shifting political climate. The increase in migration into Europe, which peaked in 2015-2016, is often referred to as the 'refugee crisis', which reinforces the negative discourse surrounding increased migration and points to refugees as the source of the perceived problem. A more balanced view is given by framing this international humanitarian crisis as a 'reception crisis' (Phipps, 2019a) and instead questioning the way that refugees are received into their host communities. In 2015, the number of forcibly displaced people across the world reached 65.3 million, the highest number since World War Two, including 4.9 million people recently displaced from Syria (Scottish Government, 2018).

In 2012, in response to rising immigration figures, Theresa May, then Home Secretary, announced plans 'to create here in Britain a really hostile environment for illegal migration' (The Guardian, 2018) with the expressed aim of reducing immigration figures. Although initially suggested that the policy was to target those in the country 'illegally', the effects have been much farther reaching and deeply felt across the UK. In the years that have followed, the

‘hostile environment’ has come to encompass far more than Theresa May’s initial approach to undocumented migrants. It has become a catch-all label for the government approach to immigration in general and is synonymous with a system that promotes hostility, bringing to the surface a deep-seated resentment towards migrants in the UK. A leaked transcript revealed in 2013 that May intended to ‘deport first and hear appeals later’(The London Economic, 2018). During his time as Prime Minister, David Cameron reinforced these ideas by publicly stating the UK's need to reduce immigration to ‘tens of thousands’ (The Telegraph, 2010), an aim which has been further reiterated in recent years.

The development of the hostile environment became possible as it was established at a time when immigration dominated the political and media agendas. May began to introduce the policies of the hostile environment in 2012 and these were formalised under the Immigration Acts of 2014 (UK Government, 2014) and 2016 (UK Government, 2016). There are two key strands of the policy; firstly, employers, landlords, schools, universities, banks, doctors, and local government employees are forced to act as immigration enforcement officers by checking the documentation of those they believe may be in the country ‘illegally’, providing an ‘everyday bordering’ (Yuval-Davis, Wemyss, & Cassidy, 2019). They can be charged with criminal charges if they do not report anyone unable to prove their right to be in the country. Secondly, the policies remove welfare support and access to NHS and public services, making Britain ‘so profoundly unwelcoming that people choose to leave of their own will’ (New Statesman, 2017). The Home Office has been strongly criticised for its deportations under the hostile environment policy, as people have been knowingly returned to countries where their lives are at risk.

The policies of the hostile environment have been accompanied by a correspondingly negative discourse on migration which has become a prominent feature within the UK media. This negative discourse was used very effectively by politicians in the 2016 referendum who stated that by leaving the EU, the UK could ‘take back control’ of borders and reduce immigration (Vote Leave, 2016), with this being seen as a necessary and desirable outcome. Misleading news reports legitimise this narrative, blaming migrants for a range of the UK’s problems from long NHS waiting lists and pressure on public services to unemployment and housing shortages. The positive impact of immigration and

the contribution that newcomers make to the UK economy, culture and society is downplayed to suit this agenda, driving the UK in an inward-looking direction which dehumanises migrants and creates a discourse of othering, of 'us' and 'them'.

A recent article in *The London Economic* (2017) illustrates the extent of this anti-immigration bias by revealing that Theresa May 'suppressed NINE reports proving immigration has little effect on employment or wages'. In fact, the reports, based on academic studies, reflected the benefits of immigration, evidencing that 'overseas workers have been complementary rather than competitive to British workers' (The London Economic, 2017). The reports also highlighted concerns about the UK attracting fewer people as a result of the hostile environment and Brexit; 'The exodus of tradespeople, NHS staff and tech industry workers shows the potential damage of an extreme Brexit'(The London Economic, 2017). The government has sought to further its anti-immigration agenda and over the years this has chipped away at public opinion with many people buying in to this narrative.

The politics of English language and social cohesion

People who have migrated to countries with dominant language(s) other than their own have two fundamental linguistic rights: (1) to continue speaking and maintaining their home language and (2) to acquire the language of the new country (Simpson, 2016). Despite being protected under human rights legislation, the issue of learning the language of the host society remains 'a highly politicised topic for European states' (Meer, Peace, & Hill, 2018, p. 1). As Simpson (2016) notes, 'certain sections of the media and some politicians present this right as an obligation and even imply the reluctance of some migrants to learn the language at all' (p. 177).

In the UK, the negative discourse on immigration is frequently linked to the debate on multilingualism, which extends the more general anti-immigrant sentiment into debates about language. The crisis of hospitality is mirrored by a crisis of linguistic acceptance and a crisis of tolerance of other languages; a discourse which suggests that the use of languages other than English should be viewed with suspicion. This discourse suggests that multilingualism poses a threat to our national identity and that social cohesion can only be achieved if

the UK shares one common language. In reality, the UK has never been a monolingual country with recent years seeing increased support for indigenous minority languages such as Gaelic, Scots and Welsh. However, the dominant narrative in the UK media reinforces the prioritising of English within the linguistic hierarchy by emphasising that everyone must learn English and speak English to the exclusion of all other languages.

Recent political discourses emphasise these ideas. In 2011, David Cameron, then Prime Minister, warned that 'immigrants unable to speak English or unwilling to integrate have created a kind of discomfort and disjointedness that has disrupted communities across Britain'(The Guardian, 2011). David Cameron also publicly linked Muslim extremism to learning English by stating that more Muslim women should 'learn English' to help tackle extremism and that those who do not should be deported (The Telegraph, 2016). David Cameron is not alone in his view. The government-commissioned *Casey Review* (2016) also publicly stated that there was a need to set a date by which time everyone in the UK 'should speak English'.

In July 2019, just weeks before becoming Prime Minister, Boris Johnson stated 'there are too often parts of our country ... where English is not spoken by some people as their first language… and that needs to be changed.' He stated that the most important priority for immigrants should be 'to be and to feel British… and to learn English', claiming that 'in many parts of England you don't hear English spoken anymore' and 'this is not the kind of community we want to leave to our children and grandchildren'(The Guardian, 2019b).

These views are consistently given media attention in the UK, placing the responsibility of language learning solely with the person who is new to the country, emphasising the obligation to learn English, and for newcomers to adapt to the host community in terms of culture and language. Not being able to speak English well is seen as deficient and problematic. This view of integration as a one-way process suggests cultural and linguistic assimilation rather than a two-way process where both parties adapt and accept the other. There is no acknowledgement of the positive change that immigration brings and as a result the UK's immigration policies have been strongly criticised for being dehumanising, unjust and divisive (Goodfellow, 2019).

Although part of the UK, Scotland's integration policies and language learning strategy evidence a more inclusive approach. 62% of Scotland's population voted to remain in the EU in the 2016 referendum and there is a stark contrast between the UK anti-immigrant sentiment and the way that Scotland welcomes 'New Scots'[1]. Scottish support to remain in the EU has grown further since the EU referendum and as Scotland was told in the run-up to the 2014 Scottish independence referendum that staying in the UK would mean remaining in the EU, many Scots feel they have been misled. People voted against Scottish independence as they were told that remaining in the UK would secure Scotland's place in the EU as part of the UK. This shift is a crucial factor in the Scottish Nationalist Party (SNP) led campaign for a further Scottish independence referendum on the basis that Scotland could become an independent EU member state in its own right. As immigration is a reserved matter under the control of the UK Government, and the support services for New Scots are devolved to Scottish Government, there is tension in terms of the balance between UK policy and organisations providing local support. This tension is particularly evident in Glasgow as it has the highest concentration of migrants in Scotland and well-developed support services.

The difference in attitude and approach to migration and refugee integration is further evidenced by views on the 'refugee crisis'. In Sept 2016 polling data on Scottish attitudes to the refugee crisis (published by IPSOS Mori) showed that 60% of people believe that Scotland responded well to the crisis, in contrast to just 38% who felt the UK responded well (Scottish Government, Convention of Scottish Local Authorities, & Scottish Refugee Council, 2017). 57% agreed with the statement 'I am confident that most refugees who come to the UK will successfully integrate into their new society' (Scottish Government et al., 2017, p. 83).This figure was 17% higher than responses for the UK as a whole and the highest amongst the European countries polled (Scottish Government et al., 2017).

[1] 'New Scots' refers to refugees and asylum seekers in Scotland. The term refers to the 'New Scots refugee Integration Strategy 2018- 2022'. Further detail is given in the following section.

The Scottish policy context

Scotland has a well-established history of welcoming newcomers and this has become increasingly significant in Glasgow since it became a dispersal centre for newly arrived asylum seekers in 1999 under The Immigration and Asylum Act (UK Government, 1999). Glasgow is currently home to approximately 11% of the total dispersed asylum seeker population in the UK (Migration Scotland, 2019). It has been the only asylum dispersal area in Scotland since 2000 and the large majority of refugees in Scotland have arrived through this system rather than through resettlement programmes (Scottish Government, 2018). Scotland has also welcomed 2,500 Syrian refugees in all 32 of its local authorities as part of the Syrian resettlement program and continues to welcome refugees and asylum seekers as New Scots with a range of support services in terms of education, housing, benefits and employment.

I will focus here on two key policies which inform refugee integration and language learning in Scotland and are central to this research: the 'New Scots Refugee Integration Strategy 2018–2022'(Scottish Government, 2018) and 'Scotland's ESOL Strategy 2015-2020' (Scottish Government & Education Scotland, 2015). The New Scots Strategy supports key areas of refugee integration and identifies these as: housing and welfare, education, language, health and wellbeing, communities and social connections (Scottish Government, 2018). The first New Scots Strategy was in place from 2014 – 2017 and put Scotland in a strong position to respond to the increased migration into Europe which coincided with the same time period. The strategy relies on a model of partnership working, led by the Scottish Government, COSLA and the Scottish Refugee Council and is based on the 'Indicators of Integration' model (Ager & Strang, 2004) which was commissioned by the Home Office in 2002. The strategy has gained recognition as a model of good practice and subsequently is looked to as the benchmark for research on refugee integration. Scotland's success with this model of refugee support is recognised in the foreword to the report on the first New Scots Strategy: 'Scotland is recognised as one of the few refugee receiving countries to make active and sustained investment in addressing the needs for integration amongst refugees and the communities in which they live' (Scottish Government et al., 2017, p. 6).

Due to the high numbers of migrants in Glasgow, effective collaboration and partnership working has been established in the city and this is seen as a model of good practice to inform work across Scotland (Scottish Government et al., 2017). The review of the first New Scots Strategy highlights the success of the response by the local authorities and the development of the Syrian Resettlement Program, recognising that services in Glasgow have adapted well with specialist services and expertise developing and different needs being met (Scottish Government et al., 2017). Research also recognises that Glasgow has benefitted from increased cultural diversity and 'more stable demographics' (Scottish Government et al., 2017, p. 26).

The refreshed strategy for the period 2018 – 2022 has a specific focus on language for the first time, it underpins the work of organisations supporting refugee integration in Scotland and recognises the importance of integration 'from day one' (Scottish Government, 2018). In her foreword Angela Constance, then Cabinet Secretary for Communities, Social Security and Equalities, states:

> New Scots recognises that refugees and asylum seekers face challenges which can limit their inclusion in our society, but it also recognises that refugees bring strength, knowledge and skills. They are assets to our communities and, as they rebuild their lives here, they help to make Scotland stronger, more compassionate and more successful as a nation (Scottish Government, 2018, p. 6)

The New Scots Approach is based on 5 key principles:

1) **Integration from day one**: if people are able to integrate early, particularly into education and work, they make positive contributions in communities and economically.

2) **A rights-based approach**: The strategy takes a holistic, human rights approach to integration that reflects both the formal international obligations the UK has and the long-standing commitment of successive Scottish Governments to address the needs of refugees and asylum seekers on the basis of principles of decency, humanity and fairness.

3) **Refugee Involvement***:* the importance of actively engaging refugees and asylum seekers. Over 700 refugees and asylum seekers engaged in the consultation process to inform the development of the strategy in 2017.

4) **Inclusive Communities**: the strategy supports refugees, asylum seekers to be involved in building stronger, resilient communities.

5*)* **Partnership and Collaboration:** the strategy has been developed collaboratively to coordinate the work of organisations and community groups across Scotland involved in supporting refugees and asylum seekers.

(Scottish Government, 2018, pp. 11-13)

It is significant that the strategy views integration as a 'long-term, two-way process, involving positive change in both individuals and host communities, which leads to cohesive, diverse communities' (Scottish Government, 2018, p. 10). The strategy emphasises that Scotland 'values diversity, where people are able to use and share their culture, skills and experiences, as they build strong relationships and connections' (Scottish Government, 2018, p. 10). The two-way, collaborative approach is fundamental to New Scots and requires engagement with refugees on key matters including language learning; 'for approaches to integration to succeed, they must be about working in and with local communities, as well as with refugees and asylum seekers'(Scottish Government, 2018, p. 11). The second New Scots Strategy is also underpinned by the holistic approach of the 'Indicators of Integration' framework which 'recognises the impact which interdependent factors can have on how a person feels, their health and wellbeing and their opportunity to participate in society and pursue their ambitions' (Scottish Government, 2018, p. 11).

As there is no funding to date directly linked to the implementation of New Scots, its success is dependent on existing support services. These services are funded through other Scottish Government funding streams such as the Equality budget which is designed to support the integration of refugees and people seeking asylum in Scotland. Over £2.7 million was allocated from this budget for 2017-2020 to fund a range of projects delivered by third sector organisations to support integration for refugees and asylum seekers in their local communities with employability support, ESOL classes, mental health and cultural activities

(Scottish Government, 2018). In terms of language learning, services are provided by Further Education colleges, local authorities and voluntary sector organisations.

A challenge of the current system is that such short-term funding arrangements make it difficult for longer term planning. This system also places organisations who work in partnership in direct competition with each other to secure funding which places additional strain on working together. Insufficient funding also results in it being challenging to support New Scots with language learning 'from day one' as there are lengthy waiting lists for formal ESOL provision.

Language recommendations within New Scots

In contrast to the UK Government, the Scottish Government recognises that integration begins on the first day a person arrives in Scotland rather than when a person officially gains refugee status (Marsden & Harris, 2015). Quicker decisions are now being made on asylum claims, which means there is a need for faster access to ESOL provision but there is no increase in funding for services to be able to support this. New Scots acknowledges the length of time it takes to make progress with language learning and also recognises the lack of sufficient places to study ESOL due to inadequate funding (Scottish Government, 2018).

The 'two-way' integration process is reflected within the strategy in terms of language, with the aim that 'refugees have the opportunity to share their language and culture with their local communities' to 'promote good practice, in which the home language of refugees is used in positive ways' (Scottish Government, 2018, p. 53). The strategy recognises that language skills are not limited to improving English and states how effective the principle of sharing languages is for English as an Additional Language (EAL) pupils in schools through the national strategy, 'Learning in 2+ Languages', which highlights the importance of the ongoing development of the pupil's first language. It is recognised the ongoing development of the home language can also help with the acquisition of a second language. The approach recognises that bilingualism and increased linguistic diversity are beneficial for individual academic and cognitive skills and that there are wider benefits of multilingualism for Scotland's economy and international reputation (Scottish Government, 2018). The growing diversity of modern languages being spoken in Scotland reflects the

country's growing recognition of community and heritage languages as part of Scotland's linguistic landscape (Scottish Government, 2018).

Although EAL provision effectively supports the inclusion of home languages as part of language learning for children of school age, the situation for adult ESOL learners is different with no recognised strategy for how to incorporate learners' own languages within the learning of English. New Scots recognises the importance of promoting and valuing Scotland's linguistic diversity to enable refugees 'to contribute effectively to Scottish society' (Scottish Government et al., 2017, p. 55), however, no specific guidance on how to promote and value this linguistic diversity within classroom practice is given. The peer education project 'Sharing Lives, Sharing Languages' (Hirsu & Bryson, 2017) provides one such model for mutual language learning and is recognised as a model of good practice within New Scots but this type of peer-led learning has not yet made it into mainstream ESOL provision.

Ager and Strang (2004) suggest that an indicator to measure successful integration in terms of language learning would be a 'proportion of refugees demonstrating English language fluency at ESOL Level 2 within two years of receiving refugee status' (p.21). Although this indicator goes some way to measure progress, it is also important to recognise the 'softer' skills developed as part of language learning such as confidence, independence, improved social connections and increased participation in community life. These may not necessarily be evident through the results of formal testing, but they are crucial in terms of measuring wellbeing, personal development and happiness. Much of our current system is focused on 'progression' for language learners and it is important to consider the broad range of achievements that this can encompass at an individual level rather than focusing on progression to work, to college or being assessed at a higher ESOL level. Not all progression or 'integration' is measurable in this way. Third sector organisations providing informal ESOL support in the local community recognise these softer outcomes and provide monitoring and evaluation information to reflect factors such as increased confidence, increased participation in community events, independence, less reliance on interpreters during appointments and recognition of own skills.

The emphasis on employability within the current system is called into question within the recent GLIMER report (Meer, Peace, & Hill, 2019) which states concerns about a single goal 'to facilitate language training in order to build capacity and readiness to enter the labour market' (p. 32). Such an approach measures success of language provision in terms of employability which contradicts the holistic integration approach laid out in New Scots. In the following section I consider recommendations in Scotland's Adult ESOL Strategy and how these relate to the recommendations laid out in New Scots.

Scotland's ESOL Strategy

In Scotland, the development and delivery of ESOL provision is informed by 'Welcoming Our Learners: Scotland's ESOL Strategy 2015 – 2020' (Scottish Government & Education Scotland, 2015) which sets out the strategic direction for ESOL over the current five-year period. In terms of the policy area, ESOL continues to falls between immigration and education but currently sits under the education brief which means policy and delivery is devolved from the Westminster Government to the Welsh, Northern Irish and Scottish Governments (Meer et al., 2019).

The Scottish ESOL Strategy is often referred to as a model of good practice, particularly in contrast to England which has no equivalent strategy (although one is currently in development). Scottish approaches to integration emphasise a multilingual environment and a multilateral approach to language learning (Phipps, 2018) in contrast to the policy context for ESOL delivery in England which can be viewed as 'assimilationist' (Han, Starkey, & Green, 2010) and monolingual. To support integration 'from day one' the Scottish Government also waives fees for asylum seekers and refugees for ESOL classes.

The strategy has the following vision:

> That all Scottish residents for whom English is not a first language have the opportunity to access high quality English language provision so that they can acquire the language skills to enable them to participate in Scottish life: in the workplace, through further study, within the family, the local community, Scottish society and the economy. These language skills are central to giving people a

> democratic voice and supporting them to contribute to the society in which they live. (Scottish Government & Education Scotland, 2015, p. 6)

It is important to consider the meaning of the term ‘access’ within this context. The situation for ESOL in Scotland compares favourably to England due to drastic funding cuts for ESOL provision since 2009 (Morrice, Tip, Collyer, & Brown, 2019), whereas the Scottish ESOL budget has remained consistent since 2012. Despite this, funding for ESOL in Scotland still remains inadequate with demand far outstripping availability. There are lengthy waiting lists for college places to study ESOL which can result in learners having to wait up to a year for a place in a college class. This problem is exacerbated by fewer opportunities available for ESOL literacies learners and those at lower levels who begin their learning from a different starting point and who may not read or write in their own language. In addition, many learners face barriers with the practicalities of ‘accessing’ a class including being unable to pay for travel to class, not knowing how to access a class or what is available, insufficient classes in their area, low confidence or not having had the opportunity to attend any formal education prior to coming to Scotland. There are also specific challenges for women which I explain in further detail under ‘Family Reunion’.

The five guiding principles of the strategy are: ‘inclusion, diversity, progression, achievement and quality’ for provision ‘which recognises and values the cultures of learners and the contribution that New Scots make to society and the economy’ (Scottish Government & Education Scotland, 2015, p. 6). The strategy highlights that developing English language skills ‘is important for participation in a democratic society’ and recognises ESOL learning as a key factor for successful integration, ‘without adequate language skills, people can neither fully participate in their local and national communities nor can they meet their full potential’ (Scottish Government & Education Scotland, 2015, p. 2). The strategy recognises the changing demographics of ESOL communities in Scotland, noting that migrant workers who came to Scotland as part of EU expansion have now become part of settled communities. It emphasises the importance of collaboration and partnership working in line with New Scots and highlights the breadth of provision available, which includes employability focused ESOL, workplace delivery and support for learners with literacies needs.

Scotland's first ESOL Strategy was published in 2007 and the refreshed strategy sits within the wider objectives of adult learning within Scotland, forming part of the implementation of the Adult Learning in Scotland Statement of Ambition (Scottish Government, 2014) which is built on three core principles of adult learning: that it should be: 'a) lifelong b) life-wide and c) learner-centred' (Scottish Government & Education Scotland, 2015, p. 2). The vision and principles of the ESOL Strategy also contribute to the National Outcomes and the Curriculum for Excellence. At the time of writing, it looks likely that the ESOL Strategy will become part of a broader Adult Learning Strategy when the currently ESOL Strategy ends at the end of 2020. The new Adult Learning Strategy is currently being developed and it is expected to be launched in 2021. Many working in the ESOL field have serious concerns that this will be a backwards step and that some of the specificity within the current guidance will be lost as the new strategy will have a broader and more general focus on Adult Learning.

As with New Scots, language is recognised as key to integration within the ESOL Strategy which stresses the need for 'the right kind of ESOL' to enable people to access 'further learning opportunities, enhance their employability, as well as support them to progress within the workplace' (Scottish Government & Education Scotland, 2015, p. 4). It highlights the need for 'relevant, appropriate and accessible provision' (Scottish Government & Education Scotland, 2015, p. 3), recognising Scotland 'as a diverse, complex, multicultural and multilingual nation'. It is also noted that Scotland's linguistic diversity includes Gaelic, Scots and community languages and that this diversity brings opportunities for people to learn more about their own and other cultures (Scottish Government & Education Scotland, 2015).

The Strategic Objectives are:

1. ESOL learners access and recognise learning opportunities throughout all stages, changes and circumstances in their lives.

2. ESOL learners co-design their learning experience.

3. ESOL learners transform their lives and communities through learning choices in personal, work, family and community settings.

4. ESOL learners effectively influence strategy and policy at local and national levels.

5. ESOL learners are effectively supported in their learning journeys.

(Scottish Government & Education Scotland, 2015, p. 21)

The strategy recognises the skills, talents and knowledge and the contribution that migrants make to Scotland and that improving language skills can enable people to reach their full potential and to 'contribute and integrate economically and socially' (Scottish Government & Education Scotland, 2015, p. 5). In keeping with New Scots, the policy reflects an inclusive, collaborative approach, based on consultation with ESOL learners, taking account of the different needs of learners and providing clear progression routes into further training, education and employment.

Although the importance of refugees' own languages is recognised at policy level in Scotland, most current ESOL provision and training courses for new ESOL teachers remain focused on predominately monolingual teaching methods. Simpson (2020) refers to this as this being the 'unexamined norm'. There is a clear policy in place for the maintenance and inclusion of heritage languages within language learning in EAL provision in schools with a number of projects being developed to include multilingual learning approaches. There is also a commitment to recognise refugees' own languages within New Scots. However, there is a predominant, well-established practice of using only English in the ESOL classroom underpinned by the longstanding belief that using the 'target language' is the best way to teach (I discuss this in full in Chapter two). Although both New Scots and the ESOL Strategy recognise the importance of linguistic diversity, there is no corresponding guidance on how to bring such diversity into the classroom in a practical way for adult learners. Within such monolingual practice, teachers have little need or motivation for integrating learners' own languages into their teaching. This results in a gap between policy and practice as there is currently no focus on combining multilingual approaches in the ESOL classroom.

Research indicates that asylum seekers and refugees experience distinctive barriers to ESOL education (Refugee Action, 2016; Shuttleworth, 2018) and the

needs of reunited refugee families are yet more specific. Currently people who have arrived in Glasgow through family reunion are able to access ESOL classes in the same way as other migrants. In the following sections I consider how their needs may be different by first exploring the context for family reunion in the UK and the current support in place.

Family Reunion

The term 'Family Reunion' is used to describe the process of bringing family members across international borders to be reunited. BRC research (White & Hendry, 2011) notes that there are many circumstances which can lead to family separation including war, persecution and natural disasters. Often family separation is unintentional within the context of forced migration but it can also be deliberate for example to protect a family member from military recruitment, or to send someone into hiding, but it is usually not intended to be permanent (Sample, 2007). Family reunion is politically sensitive as it necessitates crossing international borders (Staver, 2008).

Family reunion provides an important legal route through which high numbers of refugees receive protection and one in three refugees currently arrive in the UK in this way (British Red Cross, 2018). Under the UK's immigration rules, people who have been granted refugee status or humanitarian protection can request family reunion from the UK Border Agency. Under current EU law the Dublin III Regulation can also be used to allow separated family members, including unaccompanied children, located in EU and EEA states to reunite (Gower & McGuiness, 2020). At the time of writing, the current UK political crisis and the possibility of a no-deal Brexit threatens existing family reunion rules. A recent article in *The Guardian* (2019a) revealed that the Home Office plan to end family reunion for children the day after Brexit; 'if the UK leaves the EU without a deal, the Dublin Regulation, which allows for the transfer of asylum-seeking children and adults within the EU to join family members, will no longer apply to the UK'. The same article warns that; 'if the government fails to protect family reunification, the consequences could be fatal'(The Guardian, 2019a).

Immigration rules in the UK are complex and intentionally difficult to navigate as part of the 'hostile environment' and the rules for family reunion are similarly

restrictive. Family reunion applies only for specified immediate family members of those who have already been granted refugee status or humanitarian protection including those who have been resettled under the Gateway Protection Programme, Mandate Refugee Programme or the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement (VPR) scheme (Home Office, 2020). The narrow definition of 'family' has been strongly criticised as it applies only to pre-flight family members, specifically spouses or civil partners, unmarried or same sex partners or dependent children under the age of 18. Different visa rules with significant application fees and more restrictive eligibility criteria apply (including maintenance funds and knowledge of English language) for other relatives, including dependent adult relatives, adopted children, and those classed as 'post-flight' family members (House of Commons Library, 2018).

Unaccompanied refugee children are not able to sponsor applications from family members to bring them to the UK. The UK Government has stated this is due to concerns that if child refugees were allowed to sponsor applications this could increase risk for children and act as an incentive for parents to send children to the UK alone to seek asylum.

Home Office (2020) policy guidance states that it is also possible for family reunion to be granted 'outside the Immigration Rules' in exceptional circumstances. This may apply to a dependent child over 18, or an unaccompanied child with a close relative in the UK. However, it is also recognised that these applicants would benefit from greater certainty and improved rights in the UK 'if their cases were covered by the Immigration Rules themselves rather than policy guidance' (Gower & McGuiness, 2020).

BRC research (Marsden & Harris, 2015) highlights that the legal definitions of 'family' on which the rules for family reunion are based relate to the UK idea of a family unit and that the current system does not accommodate diverse, broader understandings of family within other cultures, e.g. elderly parents who may have lived in the same household in their country of origin. This narrow understanding also restricts 'family' to a static entity. It makes no allowance for the turbulence and upheaval which impact families torn apart by war or natural disasters which may result in changes such as responsibility for orphaned

younger siblings, or children who become separated from their parents (Marsden & Harris, 2015).

There is no charge for refugee family reunion visas and they are exempt from some of the eligibility criteria that apply to other family visa applications, however, the application process and evidence required to prove family relationships have been strongly criticised for creating 'unacceptable bureaucratic hurdles' (House of Commons Library, 2018). Further barriers have been created by the removal of legal aid for family reunion applications in England since 2013 (although this was reinstated for applications involving unaccompanied children in October 2019 (Gower & McGuiness, 2020)). This financial support remains in place for family reunion in Scotland.

BRC research (Marsden & Harris, 2015) highlights the shortcomings of current family reunion policy, noting that the UK decided to opt out of the Council Directive on the Right to Family Reunification which was adopted by the European Union in 2003. This directive provides an important basis for family reunification within Europe. In 2003 the United Nations Convention on the Protection of the Rights of Migrant Workers and Members of their Families came into effect, yet as Marsden and Harris (2015) also point out, this has not yet been ratified by any Western European country, including the UK.

Once a refugee is successful in being granted approval to bring family members to the UK there are fresh challenges to overcome. The current system creates a dependency on the refugee sponsor as the joining family members are not granted refugee status in their own right. All financial benefits are paid to the refugee sponsor which creates a financial dependency for joining family members and places additional strain on the family unit at the crucial point when they are learning to live together after a significant period of separation. This dependency is even more difficult in cases of family breakdown when the newly arrived lose their visa entitlements (Marsden & Harris, 2015). If they wish to remain in the UK this usually means an asylum application which is a lengthy and costly process.

The benefits of family reunion include better economic self-sufficiency, improved mental and physical health, practical and emotional support which may reduce the need for support from other services. Joining family members do

not have to meet language requirements before coming to the UK or take the Life in the UK test. Arriving family members have equal rights as the refugee sponsor in terms of access to support services including language classes.

Key recommendations and progress towards improving family reunion

A BRC report (White & Hendry, 2011) provides analysis of family reunion policy in the UK, Austria, Canada, Finland, Norway and Sweden and suggests that the UK offers relatively inclusive eligibility criteria in comparison to other countries. Positive elements of the UK system are recognised such as no time restrictions for when people can apply for reunion, the lack of maintenance requirements and the right to appeal decisions. However, the shortcomings of the current system are recognised by key agencies working in the field. A joint agency report from the BRC, Amnesty International, Oxfam and the Refugee Council (Musgrave & Liebl, 2017) identified key areas that needed to be addressed to improve family reunion within the UK. This included recommendations to extend the definition of family, that children in need of international protection in the UK be allowed to bring family members to the UK and that legal aid be reintroduced. The agencies also recommended that changes should be made to enable British citizens to sponsor family members who have been forcibly displaced or whose lives are at risk in their home country, under the conditions of the family reunion policy (Musgrave & Liebl, 2017). They also recommended that legal aid programmes in Greece, France and Italy should be funded to ensure that people have the help they need to be able to access safe and reliable routes to the UK and other EU member states (Musgrave & Liebl, 2017).

In recent years, some progress has been made towards improving family reunion rules in the UK. The refugee family reunion bill, proposed by the SNP MP Angus MacNeil, resulted in the UK Government passing a new law in March 2018 to broaden the definition of a family member. However, at the time of writing, we are still waiting for this law to come into effect. Campaigners have suggested that the government has deliberately delayed passing the money resolution required to enable public funds to be spent for this purpose (The Guardian, 2019c). If the bill comes into effect it could have a significant impact as it would broaden the definition of family member to include parents and adoptive parents, children and siblings under 18, or under 25 who were under 18 when

the person granted asylum left the country of residence. It is possible that these changes could also be brought into effect as part of the government's post-Brexit immigration bill (The Guardian, 2019c). At the time of writing there is uncertainty as to the future of this bill and when, or if, it may come into effect.

The role of the British Red Cross and the impact of family separation

The right of the family to be united and protected by society and the state is expressed in the United Nation's Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the European Convention of Human Rights. Family reunion is seen as 'an important step towards successful integration' (Marsden & Harris, 2015, p. 28).

The BRC is the largest independent provider of support for refugees and asylum seekers in the UK. BRC research highlights that 'family reunion is a goal and aspiration that many live with for years, as they endure periods of extended separation and often anxiety about other family members' safety' (Marsden & Harris, 2015, p. 13). During the period of separation, it is not unusual for family members to lose contact and be unable to speak to each other for extended periods. The stress created by these factors cannot be underestimated in terms of both individual and societal wellbeing. Concern about family is linked to poor psychological health, such as depression, anxiety, and somatisation (McDonald-Wilmsen & Gifford, 2009). Other negative effects of separation include the pressure of having to support family overseas financially, difficulty settling into life in the UK and a feeling that life is 'on hold' (White & Hendry, 2011). These negative effects are exacerbated by how long family reunion takes and further highlights the need for a more efficient process. Leaving a child or partner behind to make a dangerous journey is an incredibly difficult choice to make and the UK is in desperate need of a more humanitarian approach to immigration in general which enables safe routes for people to come to the UK. Current systems support families separating so that one person can make the dangerous journey alone with other family members joining later once the first person is granted refugee status.

Family reunion rights are considered to be essential for personal well-being and are also recognised as being in the interest of the receiving state (Marsden & Harris, 2015). Current policy in the UK does not go far enough to support family reunion and with the threat of a no deal Brexit looming it is likely that it will

become even more difficult for families to reunite. We await the outcome of negotiations to determine our future outside the EU and the impact this will have on family reunion rules and immigration in a more general sense.

Unlike people who arrive through the asylum process or resettlement programmes, those who come to the UK on a family reunion visa do not receive any formal support with accessing services. The length of separation is also a significant factor in how the family readjusts once they are reunited and research indicates that the longer the family are separated the harder the process of reunion (Marsden & Harris, 2015). Family reunion may also be partial while other family members are unable to re-join the family unit at the same time bringing further challenges.

BRC research highlights that teenagers may face particular challenges being reunited with parents they have not lived with for a long time (Marsden & Harris, 2015). It may be challenging adjusting to living together again whilst adapting to a new country, a new environment and navigating a new system in a different language. In addition, refugee sponsors are also at different stages of settling into the new country when their families arrive and there may be additional pressures in terms of housing, work, study, benefits and finance.

British Red Cross Family Reunion Integration Service

Although BRC figures highlight that more refugees arrive in the UK through family reunion than through all other resettlement programmes combined, to date family reunion has received inadequate funding in comparison to other programs such as the Syrian Resettlement Programme (British Red Cross, 2018). This has resulted in inadequate formal support with health, education, housing and welfare services for family members arriving on this way. The BRC Family Reunion Integration Service (FRIS), launched in September 2018, seeks to address this gap. This is the first time that UK wide funding has been allocated for this specific purpose.

The FRIS is expected to support 3,000 people (900 families) in 8 locations in England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland over the next 3 years by providing tailored support and core casework to access basic rights, register with a GP, get access to universal credit, find an appropriate place to live and register children

for school. Within the UK wide project, Glasgow is twinned with Birmingham to focus on ‘rebuilding the family unit’ as this is recognised as a specific need.

Arriving in the UK at different times can result in significantly different experiences in terms of integration and the support services available. The first family member to arrive has more time to adjust, to learn the language and to build a life before the joining members (most usually wife/partner and children) arrive, in addition to the financial dependency created by the system outlined above. Discussions with BRC staff highlighted the significant challenges faced by women who arrive in the UK in this way including accessing support services and childcare responsibilities making it difficult to attend activities outside the home, putting them at an increased risk of isolation. New Scots highlights barriers to integration for women as: ‘lack of confidence; disrupted or no previous access to education; less time available, due to other caring responsibilities or lack of childcare; and family opposition to socialising, learning or working’ (Scottish Government, 2018, p. 17). The BRC highlight that these barriers may be felt even more keenly by women whose partners have already settled here.

The gendered nature of language learning

There is a strong network of ESOL providers in Glasgow working to support New Scots with language learning. Glasgow ESOL Access register provides a central waiting list for ESOL provision delivered by colleges and other ESOL providers in the city. This centralised system has been in development since 2016 as part of a partnership of local ESOL providers and has been recognised as a model of good practice. In 2015 there were at least 55 locations in Glasgow and the surrounding area providing ESOL with over 160 courses (MacKinnon, 2015). Informal community classes provide opportunities for integration through inclusive approaches for people from a range of backgrounds at different stages of their integration experiences. Reunited refugee families have access to such ESOL classes in the same way as other migrants. Scottish Government does not exclude asylum seekers and refugees from ESOL provision in the same way that England does but more consideration is also needed ‘to better address the informal barriers experienced by displaced migrants in the existing ESOL system’(Meer et al., 2018, p. 35). In this section I consider the ways in which the

needs of reunited families may be different to other ESOL learners particularly at the point of reunion and shortly afterwards.

Family dynamics often change with each member's experience with language learning; children often gain independence and confidence through school and the interaction with other children which that brings. Men may have more opportunities to integrate through work outside the home; however, many women report experiencing isolation and feeling 'left behind' with language learning due to barriers which may prevent them accessing language classes that would enable them to improve language skills, build confidence and integrate. As their language skills increase, children may assume a lead role in communication and for women, the reduced independence resulting from reliance on others and the accompanying shift in family dynamics can be difficult to navigate. Situations where a parent has to rely on their child creates a parent-child role reversal which can place additional strain on their relationship (Marsden & Harris, 2015).

The 'gendered nature of English language learning' is acknowledged within recent research reports (MacKinnon, 2015; Scottish Government & Education Scotland, 2015). Two issues in particular impact women's access to ESOL provision: childcare responsibilities and cultural expectations in terms of gender roles. Adequate childcare is fundamental to enable women to attend ESOL classes, but such provision is often insufficient and this is widely recognised as a barrier (Ager & Strang, 2004; MacKinnon, 2015). Cultural differences may also inhibit women from attending classes e.g. an expectation that they do not need to go out to work and therefore do not need to attend language classes. Male family members may also be reluctant to take on childcare responsibilities and some women are not comfortable taking part in language classes that include men (Meer et al., 2018). Women report that they are often unable to attend ESOL classes until their child starts school due to insufficient crèche facilities or other childcare provision. As a result, the gendered nature of language learning extends into a gendered experience of integration in a more general sense.

Research also shows that migrant women with low levels of education 'benefit from learning English with their children, as it has a positive influence on physical and mental health as well as providing much-needed opportunities to

come together with other women in a safe environment' (British Council, 2017, p. 21). A report by the Community Planning Partnership for the funded period 2015-16 states that over a third of CPPs deliver family learning for ESOL learners, this is one of the key funded areas of provision (MacKinnon, 2015). Building language skills is seen as key to gaining independence especially for women.

Ninety five percent of applicants for family reunion are women and children. The BRC report that growing numbers of reunited families are presenting for support for their services which suggests that difficulties do not end at the point of reunification (Marsden & Harris, 2015). In addition to not being granted refugee status in their own right, many newly arrived women are also reliant on their sponsor's social networks and stronger language skills. BRC research (Marsden & Harris, 2015) also highlights that refugee women are more likely to make connections with other spouses rather than their community which can increase feelings of dependency and isolation amongst a group of women with an increased need for specialist support. At the time of writing there is no specific language learning support for women in this situation although they are able to access mainstream ESOL provision in the same way as other migrants. To be able to do so necessitates navigating the complex system of getting the necessary information regarding classes, locating the class, being able to travel to the class and having the confidence to enter the room and take part (issues that I explored in my fieldwork and return to in Chapter five). At the early stages of adjusting to life in Scotland this can present many challenges which in turn pose a genuine risk of isolation and can impact on wellbeing and mental health. This study aims to address some of these issues by providing intervention during the period of profound change at the critical point of family reunion and shortly afterwards.

Conclusions

In this chapter I have discussed the current political climate within the UK concerning immigration and I have highlighted some of the differences between the UK approach and the Scottish Government approach to supporting refugee integration. The New Scots Strategy and the ESOL Strategy provide a strong policy context in which to situate this research and to consider

recommendations in academic literature concerning language learning for refugees. New Scots emphasises the need to support language learning from ‘day one’ (Scottish Government, 2018) yet insufficient funding makes it challenging for ESOL providers to provide enough classes to meet the demand. It is positive that benefits of multilingualism are recognised within the strategy, but further guidance is needed for adult learning providers to bring this into the mainstream ESOL classroom.

It is clear that family reunion is key to integration and the wellbeing of those who come to the UK under the most difficult of circumstances. Family members who arrive in the UK to join their refugee ‘sponsor’ face additional challenges as there is less support available to them due to the assumption that their spouse/partner is able to provide comparable assistance. Many newly arrived women are placed in a difficult situation where support is challenging to access and current language learning support may not best suit their needs. In the following chapter I outline the key literature and the significance of this within this policy context. I also consider the gap between policy and recommendations in the academic literature and how these fit with current provision for language learning for reunited families in Scotland. I also establish the academic background for this thesis which aims to address some of the issues the policies have left unresolved.

Chapter Two: The literature

Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the key literature which informs my theoretical framework by focusing on four key areas: language ecology (Haugen, 1972; Kramsch & Vork Steffensen, 2008; van Lier, 2004a, 2010) multilingualism and monolingualism (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Creese & Blackledge, 2018; Gramling, 2016; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007), translanguaging (Canagarajah, 2011b; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García & Wei, 2014a, 2014b) and identity within language learning (Block, 2007; Blommaert, 2005; Canagarajah, 2011b; Norton, 2013). I consider each of these themes in turn before illustrating how they intersect to form the theoretical framework for my research within the political context laid out in the previous chapter. I begin by considering the term 'language ecology' as it forms the broad foundation for this work.

Language ecologies

Definitions and context

The terms 'ecology of language' or 'language ecology' were brought to public attention at the beginning of the 1970s by the Norwegian American linguist Einar Haugen (1906–1994) who defined 'language ecology' as 'the study of interactions between any given language and its environment' (Haugen, 1972, p. 325). In coming to this definition, Haugen drew on Ernst Haeckel's original definition of 'ecology' within the life sciences which Haeckel (1866) describes as 'die gesammte Wissenschaft von den Beziehungen, des Organismus zur umgebenden Aussenwelt, wohin wir im weiteren „Sinne alle Existenz-Bedingungen" rechnen können' (p. 286). Kramsch and Vork Steffensen (2008) translate this as 'the total science of the organism's relations to the surrounding environment, to which we can count in a wider sense all 'conditions of existence' (p.17). Haugen transposed this concept into the field of linguistics and is often cited as the founder of the term.

Haugen's definition of 'language ecology' relates language learning to the physical and social context, emphasizing the interaction between these elements and the resulting impact on language; 'language only functions in

relating these users to one another and to nature i.e. their social and natural environment' (Haugen, 1972, p. 325). Importantly, the interaction is also internal and connects to multilingualism; 'part of ecology is psychological as the interaction with other languages is in the minds of bi and multilingual speakers' (Haugen, 1972, p. 325). Language ecology is also sociological as it relates to the 'interaction with the society in which it functions as a medium of communication' (Haugen, 1972, p. 325). The approach is interdisciplinary in nature and holistic as language is seen as intrinsically linked and inseparable from the physical environment and its users.

Although Haugen's 'ecology of language' essays are often referred to as the first use of the term 'language ecology', the origins of the term can be traced further back. Eliasson (2015) provides an overview of the influences in Haugen's work, noting that Voegelin & Voegelin (1964) define linguistic ecology as follows: 'linguistic ecology … represents a shift of emphasis from a single language in isolation to many languages in contact' (p.2). The idea of context and environment are noted here a decade before Haugen's work was published: 'in linguistic ecology, one begins not with a particular language but with a particular area, not with selective attention to a few languages but with comprehensive attention to all the languages in the area' (Voegelin & Voegelin, 1964, p. 3). The authors make a further distinction between 'interlanguage ecology' (languages in contact) and 'intralanguage ecology' (dialects in contact) (Voegelin & Voegelin, 1964, p. 3).

Critics of Haugen's work view the lack of methodological suggestions in his initial essays as a weakness in terms of its practical application, however Haugen (1979) explains he intended 'language ecology' be viewed as a metaphor, calling it 'descriptive and normative' (p. 247). Haugen's ideas can be viewed as a response to the abstract notion of language proposed by Chomsky's universal grammar which sees language as a de-contextualized and static entity. Haugen's initial essay had a significant impact as it counteracted the dominant trends in twentieth century linguistics 'that strongly emphasised language as a static independent system, detached from its communicative context' (Eliasson, 2015, p. 89). As Eliasson (2015) points out, 'the foremost contribution of Haugen's pioneering paper is his plea for a dynamic, holistic perspective on human language' (p.90) which constituted a 'valuable corrective' to linguistic

approaches of the time. Haugen's work brought an important shift into contextualised language learning and has served as a foundation for further development of language ecology in the decades which have followed.

Proponents of an ecological approach have built on Haugen's foundation, emphasising the centrality of context as 'the focal field of study' (van Lier, 2002, p. 144). Kramsch and Vork Steffensen (2008) note that 'holism' is a keyword in ecology; 'a holistic approach to linguistics implies that language is not studied as an isolated, self-contained system, but rather in its natural surroundings, i.e. in relation to the personal, situational, cultural, and societal factors that collectively shape the production and evolution of language' (p.18). An ecological approach is a 'worldview in which everything is part of an undividable whole' (Kramsch & Vork Steffensen, 2008, p. 18). It is dialogical, reciprocal, interconnected, linguistically diverse and offers potential for 'changing ourselves and our surroundings' (Kramsch & Vork Steffensen, 2008, p. 19).

Haugen's understanding of languages as inseparably linked with and embedded in their respective historical, social, political and cultural contexts is picked up again in later work by Leo van Lier (2002, 2004a, 2006, 2010) who sees language ecology as 'different from most other theories of language […] that in one way or another decontextualize […] an ecological theory holds that if you take the context away there is no language left to be studied […] with language it's context all the way down' (van Lier, 2006, p. 20). Van Lier (2002) also notes that the interrelation of these factors, although dynamic can also be complicated; 'It's a complex and messy reality. Its primary requirement is, by definition that the context is central, it cannot be reduced, and it cannot be pushed aside or into the background' (p.144).

Language ecology emphasises the reciprocal influence between elements of context: 'pull one string, metaphorically speaking, and all the others will move in response' (van Lier, 2010, p. 4). Van Lier (2010) notes the contrast to other forms of research which isolate specific aspects of language learning to study them in detail. Although this can be useful, it also 'obscures the dynamism of the actual teaching and learning work that goes on and cannot show the emergent and contingent nature of that work' (van Lier, 2010, p. 5). Kramsch

(2002) echoes the importance and relevance of an ecological approach; ‘there is a need for theory that views language not merely as a closed linguistic system with a logic of its own but as an ecosystem in which language learning and language use are seen as a relational human activity, co-constructed between people and their various languages’ (p.5). The concepts of co-construction and language as a relational human activity are key to the discussion on translanguaging later in this chapter and became a central focus of the fieldwork which I explore in Part two.

Layered simultaneity

In addition to the reciprocity between language and the external context, an ecological approach also refers to the layers of meaning carried within language itself which Blommaert refers to as ‘layered simultaneity’. Van Lier (2010) refers to the lithograph ‘Three Worlds’ by Maurits Escher to illustrate this concept. ‘Layered simultaneity’ (Blommaert, 2005) refers not only to the here and now, but also to the past and the future of those involved in the interaction, to the surrounding world, and to the identity projected by the speaker. Any utterance has several layers of meaning embedded within it, a concept illustrated by the three ‘worlds’ in the Escher image which represent the layers of historicity, identity and presentness in every utterance (van Lier, 2010). Blommaert (2005) also recognises the fluidity and capacity for change within language as meanings adapt and become attached to language with its ongoing use; ‘every utterance has a history of (ab)use, interpretation and evaluation, and this history sticks to the utterance’ (p. 46) .

Figure 1 - ‘Three Worlds’ Lithograph by Maurits Escher

The reciprocal relationship between language use and change is particularly significant within our increasingly globalised world. Blommaert (2005) highlights that; 'mobility is not mobility across empty spaces, but mobility across spaces filled with codes, customs, rules, expectation, and so forth' (p. 73). In migratory contexts, the spaces which people move through 'are always somebody's space', they are not blank and without context, culture and history (Blommaert, 2005). It is therefore natural that, as a result, new meaning becomes attached to language as language is not static in nature; it is ever changing. Languages are not hermetically sealed units (García, 2007); they are fluid, shaped by their users, their experiences and the dynamic meaning which attaches to them over the course of time. This concept is central to my study (I return to it in Chapter seven) as my approach recognises the experience, language and knowledge that the participants brought with them to the project and all the layers of meaning contained within their own languages.

Language ecology is not detached from other ways of teaching and learning. It complements other linguistic disciplines concerned with multilingualism. In the next section I consider how the principles of language ecology can be brought into the classroom and implemented as pedagogy before discussing the place of multilingualism within the theoretical framework of my project.

Implications for research and pedagogy

Embracing an ecological approach means prioritising the context in which the speaker lives, acknowledging the interaction between languages and bringing these factors into the classroom as a strategy for teaching and learning. An ecological approach also recognises language development as non-linear (Freeman & Cameron, 2008); not as progression through 'accumulated entities' (Rutherford, 1987), but as a series of transformative experiences. Language ecology is not a separate pedagogy or a 'particular theory or model of teaching, research, or learning' (van Lier, 2004b, p. 86). It can be better understood as 'a world view, a way of being and acting in the world that has an impact on how we conduct our lives, how we relate to others and to the environment, and of course also, how we conceive of teaching and learning' (van Lier, 2004b, p. 86).

Current communicative approaches for language learning focus on the improvement of language skills by functional skills production (Kramsch, Levine,

& Phipps, 2010) based on the notion that you get out what you put in (input and production). In contrast, an ecological approach is dynamic and emergent, it is a two-way process where 'what happens in the classroom responds to aspects of the context and the context is also created out of learning, teaching and language use'(Kramsch et al., 2010, p. 8). Kramsch et al. (2010) describe the classroom as an 'ecological niche' and, although this can be a safe environment, it can create a 'barrier between education and the rest of living' (Little, 1991, p. 39). Levine (2020) also notes the importance of the local context for planning projects with an ecological approach and how identifying authentic aspects of the context for use within learning activities can be a useful first step (a key element of my research which I explore in Part two of this thesis).

No 'off the shelf', fixed or prescriptive guide to a pedagogical approach for language ecology exists, and nor does it need to. There is a deliberate openness which allows language and activities to emerge from the context. In Chapter five I introduce the real-world context of this research at the point of meeting the participants, I discuss how we brought the specific context of the project into our work and I highlight the impact of this openness as a deliberate methodological choice.

In addition to the external context of language learning outlined here, an important feature of an ecological approach is the way that languages interact in the mind and this leads into the discussion which follows on the place of multilingualism within an ecological framework.

Multilingualism, monolingualism and superdiversity

Wei (2013) defines multilingualism as the 'coexistence, contact and interaction of different languages' at individual or societal level (p.26). This definition mirrors Haugen's ideas on the interaction of languages in the mind and underlines how multilingualism is integral to a holistic, ecological approach. Makoni and Pennycook's (2007) notion that named languages are a construct of the nation state is central to understanding multilingualism as it illustrates the contrast between this constructed notion and the way that languages interact in the mind of individuals. As Bourdieu (1991) reminds us, separate languages are 'a social artefact invented at the cost of a decisive indifference to differences'

based on ‘the arbitrary imposition of a unique norm’ (p.287). At societal level, a true language ecology redresses the positioning of English and represents other languages as integral to the context.

As discussed in Chapter one, the UK press often imply that the UK can only achieve social cohesion by sharing one common language. There is a perception that the use of languages other than English ‘threatens this sense of national unity and common belonging’ (Blackledge, 2009, p. 10). In reality far more people in the world are multilingual than monolingual but the position of monolingualism is distorted by the fact that so many monolinguals are English speakers; ‘many of them belong to a very powerful minority, namely the minority which has been able to function in all situations through the medium of their mother tongue and who therefore have never been forced to learn another language’ (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995, p. 41). Gramling (2016) refers to this as ‘monolingual privilege’, noting ‘what most scholarship on the topic shares is a sense that monolingualism has come at great gain to some and unspecifiable cost to others’ (p.17) depending on which language you speak at home. This focus on monolingualism is driven by the idea of ‘one nation, one language’, which Makoni and Pennycook (2007) highlight and I return to under ‘social justice and linguistic dominance’.

As Simpson (2016) notes, ‘monolingualist policies appeal to and resonate with everyday understandings of the importance of a standard language as a unifying “glue” for a nation’(p. 181). Simpson (2016) also points out that in terms of language, this national ‘imagined homogeneity’ is ‘maintained by national policy and political discourse, but is challenged by mobility and diversity’ (p. 181). With increasing globalisation the idea of the nation as a fixed entity is being challenged as ‘migration to English-dominant countries across the West outpaces the development of policies and infrastructure which address the presence of new migrants, and the linguistic diversity that their arrival entails’ (Simpson, 2016, p. 180). In short, current ways of viewing monolingualism and its connection to the nation-state need to catch up with the increasingly multilingual communities in which most of us now live.

This increased globalisation has resulted in what Vertovec (2007) refers to as ‘superdiversity’, a term which he uses to describe the context of rapid

demographic change in London in the early twenty-first century. Meissner and Vertovec (2015) note than superdiversity has often been oversimplified and understood to simply mean ‘more ethnic groups’ rather than the term’s ‘fuller, original intention of recognizing multidimensional shifts in migration patterns’ (p. 541). The broader understanding of the term includes three components, firstly the understanding of the changing demographics arising from increased global migration; the second element is methodological and calls to ‘reorient’ some of the approaches to studying migration within the social sciences ‘in order to address and to better understand complex and arguably new social formations’ (Meissner & Vertovec, 2015, p. 542). The third element is practical or policy - oriented and highlights ‘the need for policymakers and public service practitioners to recognize new conditions created by the concurrent characteristics of global migration and population change’ (Meissner & Vertovec, 2015, p. 543).

It is these three interconnected aspects which give the term a broader meaning which I find relevant in the case of this research as they combine to acknowledge the new social formations created by increased globalisation and the need for policy and practice to better understand and reflect this. These concepts were brought into my study by considering the gap that exists between the policy laid out in Chapter one, the academic literature and the real-world delivery of the teaching study. Vertovec (2013) notes that this superdiversity is at ‘a level and kind of complexity surpassing anything the country has previously experienced’ and as a result ‘new patterns of super-diversity pose significant challenges for both policy and research’ (p. x). Creese and Blackledge (2018) also recognise the increasingly superdiverse communities of major UK cities and how this creates a unique blend of cultures and languages.

Within our increasingly linguistically diverse communities it is important to consider the place of English and the implications of the current systems which privilege English above other languages. The concept of superdiversity is key within an ecological perspective as it highlights the many languages which are present within large cities such as Glasgow, where this research is situated.

Social justice, linguistic dominance and decolonising multilingualism

An ecological approach also has implications for social justice, language hierarchies, linguistic dominance and linguistic human rights. Within the global hierarchy of languages English holds a very powerful position. Philipson & Skutnabb- Kangas (1996) describe this as a 'pecking order', noting that 'English has the sharpest beak' (p.429). English is also associated with colonialism and globalisation as a 'politically fraught and distinctively powerful language' (Leonard, 2014, p. 241). Promoting the dominance of English contributes to inequalities concerning the place of other languages as 'imperialist purposes of teaching predominant languages are unlikely to lead to a more stable, equitable world or more social justice' (Phillipson & Skutnabb- Kangas, 1996, p. 442). The dominance of English and social justice is also a recurrent theme within the literature on translanguaging which I discuss later in this chapter.

Phipps (2019b) notes the need for a 'decolonising' of multilingualism and 'renewed understandings' which she describes as a 'waking up' in the West, to the fact that most of the world's speakers have a variety of language repertoires. Phipps (2019b) also reflects on the powerful impact of putting English last in her own multilingual research, noting how 'decentring, decolonising, giving up power as control follow easily in contexts where we do not have linguistic control' (p.63). Decolonising the position of English within my research became a central part of the pedagogical approach to the teaching study and also mirrored the broader decolonising methodology to the research as a whole (I return to this concept in full in Chapter three.)

Gramling notes how monolingualism renders other languages 'contextually unnecessary' (2016, p. 11) as the 'national language' is promoted to the exclusion of all other languages within that context, countering an ecological perspective. Phillipson and Skutnabb- Kangas (1996) recognise that, 'there are 2 paradigms; the diffusion of English paradigm or the ecology of English paradigm' (p. 436). An ecology of language involves building on linguistic diversity, promoting multilingualism and the learning of other languages and 'granting linguistic human rights to speakers of all languages' (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996, p. 429) rather than focusing on English the sole priority.

In terms of how these issues can be represented within teaching and learning, academic literature signals that language teachers need to move towards teaching for cultural pluralism rather than for communicative competence (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008). Multilingualism provides a critical detachment from the dominant discourse of promoting the position of English by putting other languages at its centre. It is necessary and appropriate that we forge a paradigm shift towards pedagogies which counteract the dominance of English and reposition other languages to create a more balanced view of the linguistic diversity which is genuinely present in our local language ecologies.

Working multilingually also allows us to shift away from the idea of languages as separate, fixed entities which are compartmentalised in the brain, towards understanding language as a social construct which forms part of an integrated linguistic system (Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015). This is also a key feature of 'translanguaging' which I outline in the following section. Despite the growing body of work which recognises the benefits of multilingual learning and the increasingly globalised world in which we live, most current systems for language teaching are based on traditional views of languages as separate entities with learning geared towards achieving native speaker-like competence (Auer, 2007). This is particularly true in countries where monolingualism is perceived to be the norm (Prada & Turnbull, 2018) such as the UK. Although traditional language learning has focused on language separation, recent years have seen the beginning of a gradual paradigm shift, a 'multilingual turn', towards the inclusion of more multilingual perspectives (Prada & Turnbull, 2018). This shift is allowing new ideas and opportunities to critically analyse monolingual teaching methods and consider alternatives.

In addition to its connections to the nation state, monolingualism is also linked to attitudes and ideologies about linguistic purity and language ownership (Prada & Turnbull, 2018). With increasing globalisation many people also use English who are not 'native speakers' which calls into question the appropriacy of the terminology used to refer to learners of English (see 'the place of translanguaging within an ecological approach' for further detail). The use of English as a 'lingua franca' also challenges ideas about language ownership as it contradicts the 'one nation, one language' ideology (Prada & Turnbull, 2018).

In addition to no longer being the best fit within our increasingly globalised world, teaching monolingually does not make the most of the languages which learners already know; 'the increasingly multilingual and multicultural nature of global exchanges is raising questions about the traditionally monolingual and monocultural nature of language education' (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008, p. 645). In the case of the UK, many ESOL learners already know and use several languages. Teaching monolingually allows little scope for connecting new knowledge to what is already known, which research shows serves important cognitive functions (Kroll & Bialystok, 2013).

Despite the acknowledged benefits of teaching multilingually, there is a recognised lack of specific guidance on how to implement multilingual pedagogies in a meaningful way. Approaches such as 'translanguaging' are relatively new concepts which require further development in specific contexts (Canagarajah, 2011b; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García & Kleyn, 2016). Canagarajah (2011b) notes how advances in our understanding of multilingual communication have focused academic interest on the term 'translanguaging' which he describes as 'a neologism, it has come to stand for assumptions such as the following; that for multilinguals, languages are part of a repertoire that is accessed for their communicative purposes; languages are not discrete and separated, but form an integrated system' (p. 1). Cenoz & Gorter (2017) recognise translanguaging as a 'recent and extremely successful concept in the area of bilingual and multilingual education that has gained wide acceptance in the literature in a short period of time' (p.910). However 'proactive teaching of translanguaging raises a difficult set of theoretical and practical questions that have not received adequate discussion' (Canagarajah, 2011b, p. 2) .

Despite this recognised gap, the principles of translanguaging fit well with an ecological framework as in addition to acknowledging the interaction between languages, it 'helps to disrupt the socially constructed language hierarchies that are responsible for the suppression of the languages of many minoritized peoples' (Otheguy et al., 2015, p. 283) and it is also important for the development of a stronger multilingual identity (García-Mateus & Palmer, 2017). In the following section, I explore the need for a paradigm shift away from the aim of achieving monolingual competence towards a multilingual approach and

explain how translanguaging may provide one way forward within the context of this research.

Translanguaging

'Translanguaging' refers to both the everyday practices of multilinguals to 'shuttle between languages' (Canagarajah, 2011a, p. 401), regardless of socially and politically defined boundaries and it is also a recognised pedagogy based on an understanding of 'linguistic repertoire' (García & Wei, 2014a; Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012; MacSwan, 2017). It enables communication 'without regard to watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named languages' (Otheguy et al., 2015, p. 283). Translanguaging has raised awareness of a heteroglossic language ideology that 'values bilingualism as a sustainable community resource in its own right rather than a merely tolerated transition to majority language monolingualism (a monoglossic ideology)' (MacSwan, 2017, p. 167).

As translanguaging contradicts teaching methods which are based on language separation it firmly connects with Haugen's initial ideas on the interactions between languages in the mind explored under 'language ecologies' in this chapter. The approach is underpinned by psycholinguistic research which evidences that multilinguals activate information from all known languages even when they are only using one of their languages actively (Kroll & Bialystok, 2013). When someone is multilingual, they cannot ignore their knowledge of other languages for the purpose of learning one language in isolation. To do so means constantly suppressing other known languages in an effort to use only the 'target language'. By translanguaging, learners connect new language to existing knowledge based on the understanding that linguistic items do not belong to separate internal systems that can be compartmentalised within the brain but rather, they form a unitary system on which speakers draw selectively to communicate within any given context. As my research meets the participants at the very beginning of learning English these connections were vital as they enabled participants to make the most of their existing knowledge and draw confidence from this strategy.

Origins and definitions

‘Translanguaging’ or ‘trawsieithu’ in Welsh was developed by Welsh educationalist Cen William’s (1994) in his doctoral thesis to describe the ‘deliberate and systematic use of two languages’ (Lewis et al., 2012, p. 664) for teaching and learning during the same lesson. Moving between languages in this way called into question the long-held belief of language separation in language learning, as previously held by language scholars, which is based on the idea of bilingualism being two separate languages with two separate systems. Translanguaging in the Welsh context meant alternating between Welsh and English for receptive and productive use (Baker, 2011), e.g. reading a text in Welsh and discussing it in English or listening to something in English and writing about it in Welsh. Williams (1994) recognised that this way of working supported the learning of both languages which was highly relevant in the Welsh bilingual context.

Baker (2011) notes how translanguaging enabled students to engage with the language and deepen their understanding; ‘to read and discuss a topic in one language, and then to write about it in another language, means that the subject matter has to be processed and “digested”’ (p. 289). Baker (2011) also found translanguaging enabled deeper understanding of the subject being studied as it supported the development of the weaker language, it facilitated connections between home and school and also supported the integration of fluent speakers with early learners.

To fully understand translanguaging we must first return to Makoni and Pennycook’s (2007) notion of named languages and their relationship to the nation state to problematise the concept of ‘a language’. As named languages are social, not linguistic, constructions (Otheguy et al., 2015) their separation has little bearing on how languages are learnt and used. This is a key concept as it is this idea of separate named languages that has transferred into the practice of language separation within language learning and has become the norm within most language learning classrooms: ‘it is the uncritical acceptance of this foundational term that has kept us from fully grasping the implications of translanguaging’ (Otheguy et al., 2015, p. 282).

As the term has gained popularity and further developed, two theories of translanguaging have emerged and are differentiated as 'strong' and 'weak' translanguaging (Prada & Turnbull, 2018). The former maintains the idea of separate national languages (which may be closer to definitions of 'code-switching' which I discuss later in this section) but allows for a relaxing of boundaries between languages. García & Lin (2017) now see Williams' original definition as 'weak' translanguaging as, although both languages are actively used, the barriers between them continue to exist. In contrast, García & Lin (2017) propose the term 'strong' translanguaging which is based on the idea of one unitary meaning-making system (or 'linguistic repertoire'). Prada and Turnbull (2018) note this as a 'conceptual expansion to complex, semiotic language practices and pedagogies of bi-/multi-lingual communities who transcend between and beyond the systems that make up their complete linguistic repertoires' (p.13).

Proponents of strong translanguaging note that language can be analysed in terms of linguistic features: such as phonemes, morphemes, words, nouns, verbs, grammatical constructions or rules, tenses etc for both multilinguals and monolinguals but that they are essentially drawn from one unitary meaning making system (Otheguy et al., 2015). This unitary meaning making system is also described as an 'idiolect' (Otheguy et al., 2015) which is a person's own unique, personal language made up of the vocabulary they know and use rather than the named language associated with each of the lexical items within their 'linguistic repertoire'. It is also the person's '*mental grammar* that emerges in interaction with other speakers and enables the person's use of language' (Otheguy et al., 2015, p. 289).

An 'idiolect' takes the internal perspective of the individual's meaning making system in contrast to the external perspective which is defined by the named languages they use (Otheguy et al., 2015). Idiolects contain lexical and grammatical features and their components (e.g. lexicon, phonology, morphosyntax) and subcomponents (nouns, tenses, case endings, pronouns) Otheguy et al. (2015) and are unique to each individual. No two are idiolects are identical, even the idiolects of family members although they share common features which enable communication (Otheguy et al., 2015).

The concept of ‘idiolect’ also extends to monolinguals who also have such a repertoire from which they select linguistic features in order to communicate. Otheguy at al. (2015) note that no one uses their full idiolect freely at all times as even monolinguals monitor their use of language to some extent according to the situation. Multilinguals simply have idiolects with a wider range of lexical and structural features which they must learn to suppress in order to communicate with monolinguals (Otheguy et al., 2015).

Although it has a different epistemological position, translanguaging is also linked to ‘code-switching’ (Auer, 2007) as it also counters the way that languages are isolated for teaching and learning. Code-switching describes the practice of moving back and forth between languages to scaffold the teaching of additional languages. Although this is acknowledged as common practice within language teaching, it is ‘rarely institutionally endorsed or pedagogically underpinned’ (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p. 105). Code-switching contrasts ‘strong’ translanguaging as it is based on the monoglossic view of separate linguistic systems for each language, whereas ‘strong translanguaging’ sees bilingual interaction as always heteroglossic (Bailey, 2012; Bakhtin, 2010) and based on one integrated linguistic system. As this heteroglossic and dynamic perspective flows from how speakers themselves use languages translanguaging is seen as a more useful theory for teaching than code-switching.

Key literature recognises that its foundation of building on the dynamic bilingualism of learners and the way that language is used in real life is the reason that translanguaging has gained so much attention amongst bilingual educators and scholars in the 21st century (García & Lin, 2017). It is ‘an approach to bilingualism that is centred not on languages as has been often the case, but on the practices of bilinguals that are readily observable’ (Poza, 2017, p. 101). Blackledge and Creese (2010) also acknowledge this flexible bilingualism as being ‘without clear boundaries, which places the speaker at the heart of the interaction’ (p.109).

Proponents of translanguaging also now recognise the multimodal nature of communication and that this understanding of repertoire extends beyond linguistic repertoire. Translanguaging reflects the multiplicity, fluidity, mobility, locality of these resources which each speaker deploys (Moore, Bradley, &

Simpson, 2020). From an epistemological position, translanguaging also offers new ways to understand how knowledge is produced (Moore et al., 2020).

The 'languaging' of 'translanguaging'

In addition to using the full linguistic repertoire, translanguaging 'involves shuttling between the languages brought by the other to co-construct meaning' as a 'creative improvisation according to the needs of the context and local situation' (Canagarajah, 2011b, p. 5). As pedagogy it also connects teaching and learning with the local context as an ecological practice. Most sources cite Cen Williams' work as the origin of the term 'translanguaging'. In contrast, Wei (2017) explains his understanding of the term stems from the concept of 'languaging' rather than from the Welsh context.

Becker's (1991) understanding of 'languaging' was fundamental to this research: 'there is no such thing as Language, only continual languaging, an activity of human beings in the world' (p. 34). Wei (2017) reiterates the continually emerging nature of language by returning to Ortega y Gasset's (1957) idea that language should not be seen as 'an accomplished fact, as a thing made and finished, but as in the process of being made' (p.242). An understanding of 'languaging' as co-constructed, relational and dialogic activity (Wei, 2011) was particularly relevant within the context of this research due to the necessity to make meaning with limited verbal common language within the fieldwork. 'Languaging' is understood as an activity, not a static object and it is this dialogical interaction which gives the term its place within this ecological framework.

Further use of the term 'languaging' includes Swain (2006), who explains 'languaging serves to mediate cognition' (p.97) in understanding and problem-solving. 'Languaging' also connects with the concepts of change and reconstruction of identity through communication and context as it 'refers to the continuous process of becoming oneself through the use of language and interaction in one's linguistic and environmental surroundings' (Prada & Turnbull, 2018, p. 11). This process connects with the concept of linguistic repertoire. Prada and Turnbull (2018) describe translingual practices as

‘languaging practices that move beyond the socially constructed boundaries of languages in which a speaker holds multi-competence’ (p.11).

The place of translanguaging within an ecological framework

Translanguaging recognises that people bring their own knowledge and experience to the learning process as it based on the ‘dynamic, evolving, and negotiated nature of language’ (Poza, 2017, p. 106). As pedagogy it aims to make language learning more representative of the way languages are used outside the classroom where individuals move between languages for everyday communication. It places learners firmly at the centre of their own learning in ‘a system which orients toward the user rather than the linguistic code’ (Simpson & Cooke, 2017, p. 4) and promotes a sense of self-worth that is not linked solely to English language level, echoing the priorities of New Scots in recognising refugees’ own skills.

It is recognised that further consideration of how to embed translanguaging in practice is needed as it has been criticised as pedagogically underdeveloped (Canagarajah, 2011b; García & Kleyn, 2016). Creese & Blackledge (2010) emphasise ‘the need for further research to explore what ‘teachable’ pedagogic resources are available in flexible, concurrent approaches to learning and teaching languages bilingually’ (p. 113). In the following section I consider what translanguaging means in practice and how such strategies can be brought into the classroom in a meaningful way.

Translanguaging in practice

The benefits of implementing a translanguaging approach are well evidenced within psycholinguistic, educational linguistic and sociolinguistic research into language mixing (Ticheloven, Blom, Leseman, & McMonagle, 2019). Although ‘translanguaging’ has gained significant support (Canagarajah, 2011b; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, Johnson, Seltzer, & Valdés, 2017; Otheguy et al., 2015; Wei, 2017; Williams, 1994) it is recognised that challenges remain about how this transfers to classroom practice in a meaningful way (García & Kleyn, 2016; Hornberger & Link, 2012). Although translanguaging has been recognised as a unique and agile response to increased globalisation ‘questions remain

about translanguaging pedagogies, especially regarding their implementation and outcomes' (Poza, 2017, p. 120).

In addition to the more general questions regarding how to implement translanguaging, much of the research to date refers to bilingual education in schools particularly in the USA within the Spanish/English context but work is also being done within the UK context (see TLANG project, Creese & Blackledge, 2010 and their work in heritage schools in the UK.) The adult ESOL context in the UK brings additional considerations particularly concerning the diversity of most ESOL classrooms and the variety of learners' languages (Schellekens, 2008). It is also important to consider the diverse multilingual communities which Vertovec (2007) refers to and acknowledge the differences in implementing translanguaging within such communities rather than the bilingual Spanish/ English context in which García's work is based.

Establishing a learning environment in which learners become co-creators of knowledge requires a shift of the balance of power within the classroom which has implications for social justice, particularly in contexts where the teacher may have limited knowledge of the learners' languages. The role of the teacher then shifts to 'facilitator' who guides learners (Beres, 2015; Canagarajah, 2011a). Cummins (2019) describes this shift as 'the emerging role of classroom teachers as knowledge-generators' (p. 19) and also challenges the notion that teachers need to know the learners language to be able to facilitate translanguaging.

García and Wei (2014b) identify seven ways that translanguaging can be used to leverage students' learning in the classroom: (1) to differentiate among student levels and tailor instructional approaches; (2) to build background knowledge; (3) to deepen understandings, socio-political engagement and critical thinking (4) for cross-linguistic metalinguistic awareness; (5) for cross-linguistic flexibility for competent language use; (6) for identity investment; and (7) to disrupt linguistic hierarchies and social structures.

Although based on everyday practice, translanguaging does not simply just 'happen' naturally as a pedagogical practice, it still needs to be taught. One of the main issues to overcome is how teachers can use the learners' home languages when they have limited knowledge of them. García and Wei (2014b)

suggest that this should not be viewed as a barrier, noting that this is possible for teachers who are willing to give more power to learners and allow them to take control of their own learning to create a collaborative learning environment. García and Wei (2014b) provide strategies for how to overcome these issues, suggesting that learners support each other with the teacher trying to meet learners halfway: 'the teacher makes an effort to make herself understood using Spanish, and the students try to make themselves understood using English. In so doing more English is being added to the linguistic repertoire of the students, and more Spanish to that of the teacher' (p.112). This puts the 'two way' process of New Scots into practice in a very real sense, taking it away from policy and into everyday life as a collaborative process. Monolingual teachers can find ways to incorporate translanguaging into their teaching; 'it shows students how to privilege interaction and collaborative dialogue over form and thus develops their voice' (García & Wei, 2014b, p. 112).

As with an ecological approach, translanguaging can be embedded within existing approaches to language learning. Some progress towards the development of practical guides to support translanguaging activities in the classroom has been made (for example, García, Ibarra Johnson & Seltzer, 2017; García & Kleyn, 2016). The CUNY-NYSIEB-guide (Celic & Seltzer, 2011) provides guidance and specific examples of translanguaging activities. Suggested strategies include empowering learners to use their languages through increasing visibility of other languages in the classroom e.g. signs displayed in home languages or by learning greetings in each other's languages (García & Wei, 2014b). Other activities suggest learners can work together in 'language pairs' using the language of their choice with a return to Williams' (1994) methods of using one language to discuss an activity and another to produce a written or oral account. Strategies which include contrasting languages are also considered helpful to build vocabulary, improve reading comprehension and promote metalinguistic awareness (Ticheloven et al., 2019), which contributes to enhanced language learning (Rauch, Naumann, & Jude, 2012). Comparing languages is also described as a useful strategy for translanguaging for example by searching for cognates in different languages and breaking these down into word parts e.g. roots and affixes to build vocabulary and enhance morphological awareness (Ticheloven et al., 2019).

Poza (2017) highlights the flexibility of that translanguaging strategies and that they can be used for activities using any of the four main skills (speaking, listening, reading, writing) to enhance learning for learners of all ages and proficiency levels. Poza (2017) also suggests that translanguaging may be most beneficial when different skills are used in combination, as it supports the transfer of skills from the more dominant language.

Translanguaging also 'helps to disrupt the socially constructed language hierarchies that are responsible for the suppression of the languages of many minoritized peoples' and it may also contribute to the development of a stronger multilingual identity (García-Mateus & Palmer, 2017). The ways in which translanguaging, multilingualism and identity intersect became particularly relevant within the liminal phase of arrival and identity reconstruction within this research which I outline in Chapter three.

Identity within an ecological approach

As my research seeks to address the balance of power in the classroom and the implications of drawing on an ecological, multilingual approach within the participants' first few weeks in Scotland, the literature on power and identity within language learning was a vital starting point. I turn to studies by Norton (2013), Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), Block (2007) to illustrate how these fit within my theoretical framework.

Norton's (2013) construct of 'investment' calls into question outdated theories of language learning which see motivation as an intrinsic character trait unaffected by the impact of unequal teacher/learner power relations. Norton's construct became key to understanding the impact of shifting the balance of power within the research both in terms of the decolonising approach to the research as a whole and through the decolonising of multilingualism (Phipps, 2019b) within the teaching study. If learners 'invest' in the learning process, they recognise the benefits of improved language skills and the associated symbolic (language, education, friendship) and material resources (capital goods, money) which in turn increase social power (Norton, 2013). There is an integral relationship between 'investment' and identity within the classroom (Norton, 2013). Recognising the significance of Norton's construct draws

together the key themes of context, identity and multilingualism as part of the ecological framework which underpins this research.

Identity in itself is not static. Van Lier (2004b) recognises this process of adaptation and the impact this has; ‘when people find themselves in a new culture with a new language, they need to develop new identities to reconnect their deep sense of self to the new surroundings’ (p. 96). Here, the two-way process of integration is mirrored in the academic literature as it requires ‘reciprocity between the person and the host community’ (van Lier, 2004b, p. 96) as part of an ongoing and dynamic process; ‘people do not ‘have’ an identity, identities are constructed in practices that *produce, enact or perform* identity’ (Blommaert, 2005, p. 205). Blommaert (2005) also proposes that we see identity ‘not as a property or a stable category of individuals or groups but as ‘particular forms of semiotic potential, organised in a repertoire’ (p. 207), suggesting we avoid reducing identities to static, established categories. The concept of identity and the process of adaptation to a host community are explored in full in Chapters three and seven within the discussions on liminality as they were key to my study due to the specific point at which I met the participants. The importance of the participants’ own languages as integral to identity was highly visible and brought into contact with English as part of the dynamic process of settling into a host community.

Ethnolinguistic identity incorporates both linguistic and ethnic features (Blommaert, 2005) and often serves as a basis for language policies by harnessing the idea of named languages and their connection to the nation state outlined by Makoni and Pennycook (2007) under ‘Multilingualism, monolingualism and superdiversity’. Embedded within this ‘one nation, one language’ view of identity are other beliefs about national identity. As Simpson notes: ‘the ideal that the nation state should be as homogeneous – and as monolingual – as possible’ (Simpson, 2016, p. 181), a view which I highlighted in Chapter one.

Blackledge & Pavlenko (2004) also warn of the oversimplification and essentialization of such approaches; ‘a one-to-one correlation between language and identity, is criticized for its monolingual and monocultural bias’ (p.5), as it leaves no scope for those with multilingual or multicultural identities. It is important to recognise that at an individual level, language is a key factor in our

personal identity, made up of the various group identities to which each of us stakes a claim (Joseph, 2004) rather than being a simple one-to-one correlation between ethnic and linguistic identity.

In terms of teaching, pedagogical practices can either 'constrain or enable students in their reimagining of possibilities for both the present and the future' (Norton, 2013 p.17) as language classes form an important part of the process of 'reconstruction and repositioning' (Block, 2007, p. 75), particularly within the liminal phase of arrival. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) note this identity creation as an ongoing process with each act of speaking or silence constituting an 'act of identity' (p.8). Norton (2013) warns of classroom practices which can 'recreate subordinate student identities' and limit access to 'more powerful identities' (p.17) which highlights the responsibility that teachers have to ensure learners' experiences support the latter.

By recognising home languages and incorporating them within the learning process in a meaningful way, translanguaging contributes to the development of a stronger multilingual identity (García-Mateus & Palmer, 2017). Classroom practices where English is dominant which may not be the best way to foster the 'investment' which Norton describes. As Canagarajah (2011b) notes, 'ESL status is stereotypically considered developmental and deficient'(p.14) and working multilingually counteracts this perception by supporting individuals to construct a more empowering identity. Approaches such as translanguaging are important as they can enable a reconceptualization of identities for learners and teachers in terms of their ideologies and attitudes (Prada & Turnbull, 2018).

As Norton (2013) notes, SLA theorists have not developed a theory of identity that 'integrates the language learner and the language learning context' (p. 44). An ecological approach gives scope to do just this. Van Lier (2010) sees the principle of identity as central to an ecological approach alongside relationships, agency and motivation. He connects the term 'language ecology' with a sense of self and identity which includes social relationships, cultural contexts, actions, activities and utterances as part of identity as a reciprocal relationship between the individual and his/her world. This reciprocity is echoed by Blommaert (2005), 'context and contextualisation are dialogical phenomena… it is not the speaker alone who offers context to statements and generates context, but the

other parties in communication process do so as well'(p.43). This has particular significance within a new context as 'most or all previous support system in terms of history, cultures and history have been removed and must rapidly be replaced by new ones' (Block, 2007, p. 75). An ecological approach acknowledges this sense of identity within each specific context.

Adjusting to a host community and learning the language is dependent upon the development of a dually compatible identity, it emphasises the link between the self and the new context as part of ecology. This also requires 'having a voice in that language, and having both the right to speak and the right to be heard' (van Lier, 2004b, p. 82). Genuine collaborative dialogue is needed to enable learners to develop an identity and voice in the language they are learning (van Lier, 2004b) as part of ecological practice.

Consideration of identity within language learning also extend to terminology used to refer to learners of English and the identity this projects on to them. García suggests 'emergent bilingual' within the context of teaching bilingual children in the USA. The preferred term in the UK is 'non-native speaker' which implies the notion of deficit and idealises the 'native speaker' as the target model. Such a goal is both unachievable and unrealistic.

Current systems reaffirm the notion that ESOL/second language learners are of lower status to native speakers, defined and labelled by what they are not. Such labels reaffirm a hierarchy based on English language level with learners 'epistemologically construed as ever-learners whose communicative potential is summarized by their status as L2/FL speakers' (Prada & Turnbull, 2018, p. 10). The current terminology also does not account for learners who have more than one native language and perpetuates the misconceptions discussed under 'Multilingualism, monolingualism and superdiversity' as they no longer fit with today's increasingly globalised societies or the diversity within language learning classrooms. Further consideration of how to update this terminology is needed within the UK to move away from the deficit-oriented label of 'non-native speaker'. Addressing this is also part of the linguistic hospitality that I discuss in the empirical chapters.

Conclusions

In this chapter I have discussed the key literature which informs my theoretical framework and explained how this fits together to form the basis for this research. I have highlighted the need for a paradigm shift towards incorporating multilingual learning methods such as translanguaging. This is particularly relevant within this context as this research meets the participants at a time of profound change in their lives, within the first few weeks of arriving in Scotland after going through the difficult process of family reunion. The distinctiveness of ESOL in the UK as an 'interplay of life, learning and migration trajectories, of history and of government policies, and the way these come together in practice' (Simpson, 2016, p. 178) forms the starting point for this research.

Specifically, this study allows for further exploration of translanguaging as pedagogy within the context of family reunion. The literature shows a clear gap regarding the development of translanguaging in specific contexts and as so many refugees arrive in the UK through family reunion, this is a useful and necessary context to explore how a multilingual, ecological approach to language learning might work for informal language learning at the point of arrival. In the following chapter, I consider how the key principles within the literature inform the research design and how I implemented an ecological and multilingual approach to language learning within the teaching study.

Chapter Three: Methodology

Introduction

This chapter introduces the research methodology for the qualitative teaching study which aimed to explore an ecological and multilingual approach to language learning as an iterative spiral of critical participatory action research (CPAR). The process of delivery and ongoing reflection allowed for a deeper exploration of the key themes identified in Chapters one and two regarding language learning for reunited refugee families and to consider the practical exploration of an ecological, multilingual approach in this context. In this chapter I discuss the location of the research within the interpretivist paradigm, my methodological approach, the research design, the methods, and the data analysis. I then discuss my positionality and ethical considerations before concluding by summarising how these concepts fit together, the justifications for my decisions and the limitations of the study.

The lines of inquiry

The policy review, literature review and initial meetings with the BRC evidenced a clear gap concerning language learning support for family members arriving in Glasgow through Family Reunion. Discussions with the BRC highlighted that women arriving in this way faced specific challenges within their first few weeks adjusting to their lives as New Scots. The academic literature which informs my theoretical framework also suggests that translanguaging may be a particularly good fit within this context due to its broader epistemological position and its possibilities for reconsidering and recalibrating the position of English within language learning pedagogy for refugees.

A recognised gap also exists concerning how to implement translanguaging within specific contexts. The key concepts of an ecological approach, namely the interrelationship between the context and other known languages are also highly relevant to supporting arriving family members who have an immediate need for highly situated support and who may also be at the very beginning of learning English. The literature reviewed in the previous chapter also highlights

the significance of the recognition of learners' own languages within the learning process in terms of identity and empowerment and the benefits of a more collaborative approach.

BRC and British Council research also recognises that women benefit from learning language with their children and this was something the BRC suggested as a research area needing further exploration. The combination of themes which emerged through the policy review, literature review and the input of the BRC formed the starting point for the research and shaped the methodological choices outlined in this chapter.

BRC staff also suggested I consider language learning for refugees in Wales due to its bilingual context as a devolved country within the UK, bound by UK immigration rules in the same way as Scotland but also with devolved powers for support services. I was also interested to include Wales within the first stage of the research due to the origins of translanguaging in Wales.

To broaden this initial stage, I also decided it would be useful to consider the work of the German Red Cross (GRC) as Germany has received the highest number of refugees in Europe since 2016 and there is a well-established 600-hour introductory German language course in place. This introductory language course provides a very different model to the system current Scottish system and I felt that it would be important to understand how Germany has supported such high numbers of refugees. Comparing three different physical ecologies also highlighted the specific needs of language learning in each context which is key to an understanding of ecological approach. In Chapter four I explore the fieldwork in Wales in Germany in full and explain how this shaped the teaching study in Scotland.

Due to the emergent nature of the research, fixed research questions would not have been appropriate. Instead, I was guided by the following lines of inquiry:

- What can we learn from language learning support for refugees in the Welsh and German contexts and how can this learning be applied to the Scottish context?
- How can we better support reunited refugee families in Scotland through an ecological and multilingual approach to language learning?

- What significance does this approach have in terms of identity, empowerment and the dominance of English within the process of language learning?

Research design

The fieldwork consisted of four key stages:

- Interviews with sector specialists in Wales and a two-day visit to the BRC in Newport where I interviewed staff and observed one ESOL class and one AVAIL session
- Interviews with sector specialists in Germany and a one-day visit to the GRC in Frankfurt where I interviewed staff and observed 3 German as a Second Language classes
- The pilot teaching study in Glasgow
- The main teaching study in Glasgow

As ecological, multilingual language learning programmes are not currently available for newly arrived reunited refugee families, it would not have been possible for me to do this research without delivering the teaching study myself. I was therefore engaged in the research as a teacher/facilitator and participant-observer. This approach places me firmly within the research itself within an interpretivist research paradigm, using qualitative methods which can be formally defined as semi structured interviews, observations, autoethnographic fieldnotes and participant feedback to carry out the research. I discuss the appropriacy and limitations of these terms under 'Influences from intercultural research'.

The teaching study took place from February – June 2019 (including the initial two-week pilot), engaging four families within their first few weeks of arriving in Scotland. The study was based on the ideas and needs of the participants, identified by the participants themselves, as part of the CPAR spiral, within the ecological framework laid out in the previous chapter and in line with the principles of engagement and collaboration within New Scots (Scottish Government, 2018). This was a practice-led, participant-centred approach, informed by ongoing dialogue and feedback to allow the direction of the inquiry to be co-designed and co-produced with the participants. The teaching study

was framed as reflective practice as part of the CPAR spiral with the aim of creating a sense of shared knowledge to contribute to and influence broader practise-based, academic and political conversations about language learning for refugees. In the following section I explain the methodological approach to the study.

Methodological approach

My approach was shaped by what I viewed as an ethical necessity to underpin the research with a decolonising methodology (Phipps, 2013a, 2019b; Smith, 1999, 2013). This decision was influenced by my own experiences of working with asylum seekers and refugees in Glasgow over the past 14 years and it meant using approaches that purposefully aimed to reduce my status and power as a researcher/teacher and to work collaboratively with the research participants on a more equal footing.

Tuhiwai Smith has written extensively about the need to decolonise research, highlighting the negative associations of the term 'research' due to the associations of such 'ivory tower' approaches with hierarchies of class, race and gender:

> The term 'research' is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism. The word itself, 'research' is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary. When mentioned in many indigenous contexts, it stirs up silence, it conjures up bad memories, it raises a smile that is knowing and distrustful. It is so powerful that indigenous people even write poetry about research (Smith, 2013, p. 1).

A decolonising approach aims to disrupt power relations to contrast with traditional ways of doing 'research' where the researcher enters the setting as an external, impartial observer. (Phipps, 2013a) describes such approaches as 'clinical' and 'detached' in nature and notes that such power dynamics are usually beneficial to the researcher and not the researched. I intended to carry out this research in collaboration *with* the participants, and not *on* research subjects as 'objects of investigation' (Freire, 1996, p. 87).

In discussing the need to move away from Eurocentric ways of doing research Ndlovu-Gatsheni notes that this is a 'terrain of pitting the interests of the "researcher" against those of the "researched" as traditional research continues to give the "researcher" the power to define' (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2017, p. 186). Shifting the balance of power within the process of making research can be transformative as the *researched* become the *researchers,* when 'questions are framed differently, priorities are ranked differently, problems are defined differently, people participate on different terms' (Smith, 2013, p. 196). The participation 'on different terms' became ever clearer as my relationship with the participants evolved week by week, their confidence grew, and my own linguistic incompetence further shifted the balance of power. The participants showed me what a decolonising methodology looked like in practice, in real life and in *their* lives. They became my teachers. This balance of power and our relationship was so fundamental to the project that I have dedicated Chapter seven of this thesis to allow full and detailed exploration of it.

The principles of decolonising methodology shaped the overall approach to the research and also extended to the pedagogy within the teaching study, following Phipps' (2019b) call for the need to 'decolonise multilingualism' introduced in the previous chapter. I aimed not only to decentre power away from myself and my role of researcher/teacher but also to decentre the place and position of English by placing other languages on a more equal footing, a key element of the translanguaging literature in Chapter two. The impact of an improved balance of power and more symmetrical teacher/learner relationships found in Norton's (2013) work on identity (Chapter two) also complements the decolonising methodology and was fundamental to the research.

Influences from intercultural research

My approach was further informed by some of the methodological issues raised within intercultural research regarding ethical intercultural relationships. It was helpful to relate the concepts of ethics, decolonising and restorative approaches (Phipps, 2013a) back to my own experience of working in the 'field'. Although my study is based on language learning, it is not about the 'functional quality assurance of language teaching' (Phipps, 2013a, p. 12), it is grounded in a more

holistic approach where intercultural relationships are an essential part of the research process.

Within this broader sense of language learning, I aimed to move beyond traditional qualitative methods of 'data collection' and in keeping with an ecological approach, we took the learning outside the classroom as much as possible to connect with the local context and vary the ways of working together. This included taking the bus together to class at the start of the project, walking in the park outside the classroom, a short walking tour of the University cloisters and visits to Kelvingrove Museum and the Hunterian Museum. We also created a poem together and delivered a multilingual workshop entitled 'Bringing the Outside In' at the UNESCO RILA (Refugee Integration through Languages and the Arts) Spring School in May 2019.

Where shared verbal language was lacking, more embodied ways of communicating were necessary which resulted in what Law (2004) refers to as 'slippery' data. This included my observations of body language (touch, facial expressions, gestures, emotion) to allow space for different ways of 'knowing beyond - or *beside/s* words' (Thurlow, 2016, p. 503). In Chapter seven, I draw similarities between our work and Woitsch's (2012) PhD study on 'Intercultural language learning as a spatial-embodied practice' where Woitsch also takes language learning outside the classroom, acknowledging 'the role of everyday space and place for intercultural encounter' (p. 3). This method is 'a mode of exploration and embodiment, to allow a flow of action, impressions, natural conversation, showing and relationship', it is research which is 'quite literally walked' (Phipps, 2013a, p. 22).

Our language learning was not based on functional skills production or a model of input = output. It was deliberately open and based on human dialogical interaction, Woitsch (2012) notes how 'language pedagogy needs emotions, wonder, awe, and magic'(p.236). These are not necessarily easily evidenced by traditional methods of 'data collection' or classroom-based learning with a rigid curriculum or fixed pedagogy. This 'colourful mixture of discovery and learning' is often forgotten and results in language pedagogy that is disconnected from 'the world out there' (Woitsch, 2012, p. 236). Our ecological approach aimed to harness this sense of interconnectedness and porosity between the inside and

the outside and as such, the approach to the teaching study mirrored the methodological approach to the research in a more general sense.

Phipps (2013a) describes this commitment to openness as ‘an open invitation to listen and follow not where the researchers’ hypothesis is leading so much as to develop shared views of ‘data’, shared interpretive strategies, to co-write research and to drop the inappropriate discourse of ‘interviews’, ‘informants’ and ‘semi structured’(p. 21). Listening and stepping back became key. Adopting this approach felt ethically appropriate and liberating as it gave me the opportunity to put aside the way that I had been taught to teach by focusing on the need to provide learners with as much time as possible to use the target language in class. At the beginning of the research, I felt this also sat comfortably with the learner-centred approach which had underpinned my teaching career but as my work progressed, I realised that this felt increasingly naïve. As Phipps (2020) notes, this ‘learner centred’ approach is the language of the coloniser. I questioned deeply, how ‘learner-centred’ our ESOL classrooms would ever be as long as they remained ‘English only’ spaces.

Putting aside monolingual ideologies, which it is hard for me to admit had shaped my teaching career, was deeply liberating for me as it allowed me to reconsider the often unexamined norm (Simpson, 2020) of using English only classrooms. In Chapter nine I explore voice and audibility as essential concepts within a decolonising pedagogy. To begin this research with the necessary openness meant taking on new ways and starting again, together. As Darling (2014) found within his ethnographic research with asylum seekers and refugees in England, ‘fieldwork produces more than simply ‘data’. Rather, fieldwork produces sensibilities and dispositions, it alters researchers and those they encounter in often unpredictable ways’ (p.201). A willingness to being personally ‘altered’ in such unpredictable ways was an essential part of approaching the research with genuine openness.

Creating research in this way, during this particular stage of the participants’ lives, was unlikely to create data that would be easy to analyse in rigid/traditional ways. In the following section I consider my approach to this ‘messiness’.

Embracing the 'messiness'

> *If the world is complex and messy, then at least some of the time we're going to have to give up on simplicities. But one thing is sure: if we want to think about the messes of reality at all then we're going to have to teach ourselves to think, to practise and to relate, and to know in new ways (Law, 2004, p. 2)*

Due to its necessary openness, this type of research would not fit within frameworks where 'reality is assumed to be a pretty determinable set of discoverable entities'(Law, 2004, p. 9). The often 'ragged' way knowledge is produced should not be made to fit into 'something determinable' (Law, 2004). Combining Law's ideas on the messiness of social science research with the ethical considerations within intercultural research outlined above gave me confidence to combine more creative methodologies within the research process, framed within the 'ethic of care' which I outline later in this chapter and return to in Chapter six.

As Law (2004) notes, many realities are 'vague and ephemeral'. Rather than trying to 'neaten' the data by shoehorning it into restrictive methods and ways of describing the findings, I aimed to represent the diffuse and the 'mess' of the reality of our shared work in a way that was authentic and 'broader, looser and more generous' (Law, 2004), with a commitment and openness to 'other ways of knowing'(Law, 2004). Taking detailed fieldnotes helped me reflect on my work, my methods and to feed my own reflections into the iterative spiral of CPAR on an ongoing basis. As each learning session was delivered a week apart this provided a window in which to reflect and plan ahead of the next session as part of an iterative process.

As a result, I rely on my autoethnographic fieldnotes and come back to them many times in Chapters five, six, seven and eight. By inclusion of these detailed, up close accounts we created 'something which is restorative and valued beyond an "interview"' (Phipps, 2013a, p. 22). Phipps (2013a) notes the change in discourse after giving up the use of terms such as 'data', 'interview' and informant' and replacing them with poetic metaphors of 'walks' and 'footprints'

and how such metaphors contribute towards a decolonising methodology in intercultural language research.

Eclecticism as method

The literature reviewed in Chapter two provided the starting point for the research. However, due to the open nature of the work, as the themes emerged and our shared work evolved, it became necessary for me to draw on literature from other academic fields to explore more of what the participants were telling me, showing me and teaching me. I learnt that I needed to consider a more interdisciplinary approach and so I began to look beyond the field of applied linguistics to consider influences from human geography, intercultural research and anthropology. Embracing a decolonising approach meant embracing this openness in method and literature and it meant that at times I had to start again with a new body of literature to enable me to deepen my understanding. This commitment to openness meant that I could explore the emerging themes in more depth and allow the study to be genuinely guided by the participants. I consider the eclecticism that this necessitated to be a justifiable method in its own right, a strength of the study and testimony to my own commitment to approaching the research with a genuinely open mind. I draw on the additional literature in the empirical chapters and allow this to emerge alongside the themes to support the discussion of findings in Chapters six, seven and eight. The need for interdisciplinary thinking is acknowledged within the literature on feminist ethics of care which I explore in full in Chapter six.

> This kind of disciplinary and interdisciplinary thinking is actually generated by a thoughtful consideration of what it means to be a caring teacher. If we are to take the expressed needs of students seriously, we must continually build our own store of knowledge in order to respond intelligently to their needs and interests. Thus, we do not have to know as much biology as the biology teacher or as much literature as the English teacher, but we do have to know how our own subject connects with these subjects. Caring also implies competence.(Noddings, 2012, p. 776)

Noddings refers to this as ‘latitudinal knowledge’ and explains how teachers ‘should be able to draw on literature, history, politics, religion, philosophy, and

the arts in ways that enrich their daily teaching and offer multiple possibilities for students to make connections with the great existential questions as well as questions of current social life' (Noddings, quoted in Noddings, 2012 p.776). I do not claim to be an expert within the fields of human geography or anthropology, however drawing on key studies from these fields added depth and breadth to the study and I saw this as my own ethical responsibility to the participants and to the research as part of a decolonising approach. In the following section I explain how these principles complement a CPAR approach.

Action Research and Critical Participatory Action Research

The methodology used falls within definitions of action research and specifically the branch identified as critical participatory action research (CPAR) which Kemmis, McTaggart, and Nixon (2014) describe as a 'practice changing practice'. There is some ambiguity within the terminology used to describe different models of action research. McTaggart (1997) acknowledges that 'any literature search using the descriptors "participatory research", "action research", and "participatory action research" will still identify a confusing and meaningless diversity of approaches to research' (p.27). In some cases, there is no distinction between action research and participatory action research. However, I find this distinction important as the 'participatory' element is fundamental to my methodological approach.

In its broader sense, action research is considered both a design and method of social science research and is recognised as 'an epistemological and ethical stance on where knowledge lies, how and with whom it should be produced, and how it should be used' (Stoudt & Torre, 2014, p. 2). Action research is practice-based and can be used to implement change and improvement at a local level (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2018). Such projects can be broken down into four key stages of planning, acting, observing and reflecting 'in a manner which is more demanding and rigorous than in the everyday course of life' (Cohen et al., 2018, p. 442). The central tenets of action research are that it should be: '1) grounded in lived experience, (2) developed in partnership, (3) addressing significant problems, (4) working with, rather than simply studying, people, (5) developing new ways of seeing/theorizing the world, and (6) leaving infrastructure in its wake' (Bradbury & Reason, 2003, p. 155). Action researchers

hold an ‘ethical commitment to extending the ‘right to research’ to all people’ (Stoudt & Torre, 2014, p. 2).

Kemmis et al. (2014) describe CPAR as a social practice which aims to analyse and transform participants’ practices, their understanding of the practices, and the conditions in which the practices take place. The approach is ‘methodologically eclectic’ which complements the emergent nature of this work.

CPAR developed from these broader descriptions of ‘action research’ which aim to bridge the gap between research and practice, make educational research more reflective and effect change (Cohen et al., 2018). CPAR is seen as ‘more than a method’ and is recognised for its ethical stance towards care and participation which prioritises and values relationships (Cahill, Sultana, & Pain, 2007). CPAR is also described as a ‘social practice’ (Kemmis et al., 2014), ‘a worldview’ (Bradbury, 2001) and a ‘philosophy of life, committed to social renovation for justice’ (Borda, 2006, p. 27). This type of research has the ability to empower participants by communicating their unheard voices, acknowledging their power to co-construct knowledge and contribute to transformative actions (Gaventa & Cornwall, 2008). CPAR incorporates ideas from grassroots social movements, critical pedagogy and activism and is based on ‘a commitment to the significant knowledge people hold about their lives and experiences’(Kemmis et al., 2014, p. 155). It is a collaborative approach which aims to effect meaningful change.

Also key to CPAR is the concept of ‘practice architectures’ (Schatzki, 2002) which enable or constrain practices without determining them. As practice architectures shape practices, for practices to change, the relevant practice architectures also need to change. In terms of this study, this relates to the context and structures already in place in Scotland within current support for language learning for refugee families. The study aims to examine the reasons behind established teaching practices and question what practice architectures constrain potential change.

In contrast to typical action research models which are based on a cycles of action and reflection, CPAR is based on an iterative spiral (Kemmis et al., 2014):

planning a change,

acting and observing the process and consequences of the change,

reflecting on these processes and consequences, and then,

re-planning,

acting and observing,

reflecting, and so on.

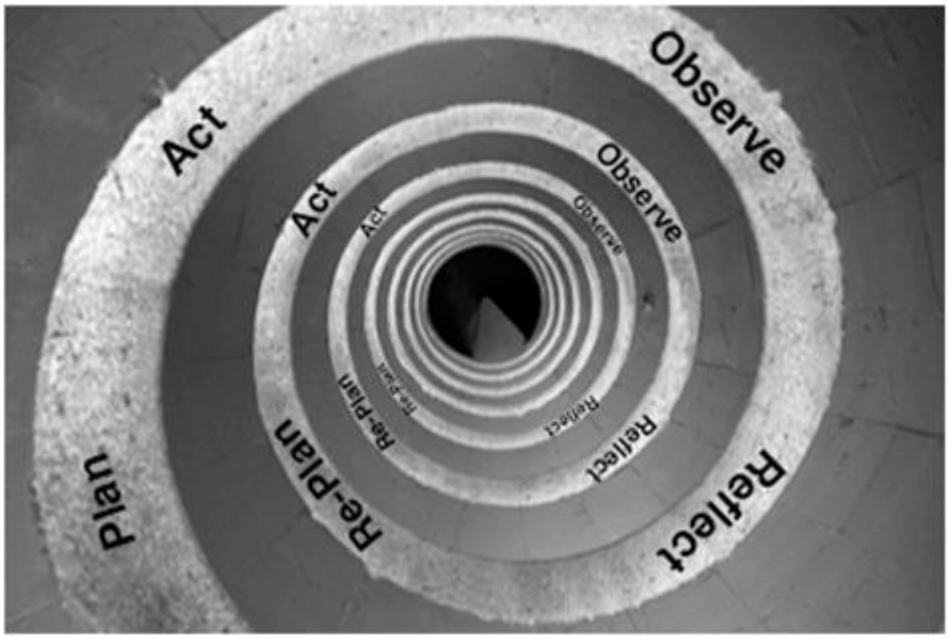


Figure 2 – CPAR Spiral

(Springer.com)

There are a number of recognised benefits of using a CPAR framework, not least because participants are interested and invested in their own practices. They also know and understand a great deal about the topic of the study through their direct involvement. As Paulo Freire (1982) notes we should be 'learning to do it by doing it' with the aim of leading participants to 'richer understandings of social and educational practice and how to change' (Kemmis et al., 2014, p. 12).

Justifications for use of CPAR model

In terms of this particular study, the research could also have been framed as a case study as it explores the three different contexts of Wales, Germany and Scotland. However, framing the project as a case study would not have done justice to the scope of the teaching study in Scotland and the resulting findings, nor would it have acknowledged the role of the participants in such a direct way. This study is about Scotland. Framing the research as a CPAR teaching study, shaped by initial fieldwork in Wales and Germany within the initial planning stages, is more reflective of the process of exploring meaningful change within existing practice in Scotland. The study is not balanced equally between three case studies as a deliberate methodological choice to meet the specific aims of the research.

I found CPAR to be the most appropriate methodology for this research for the following reasons:

1) CPAR is compatible with the ecological approach which the teaching study sought to explore as CPAR acknowledges both the local and the global. The local context is key but defined by broader political contexts for language learning and immigration.
2) CPAR acknowledges the relationship between knowledge and power and that this is embedded in practice. It also recognises the place of identity within the process of making research.
3) This type of research requires a sensitive and ethical approach, working in collaboration with participants. CPAR is appropriate from an ethical perspective as is it informed by an ‘ethic of care’ and represents a deep respect for relationships and humanity (Cahill et al., 2007).
4) It fits with a decolonising methodology as it reduces the status and power of the researcher.
5) CPAR focuses on how to create new possibilities to decolonise bureaucratic discourses, routinised practices and institutionalised social relationships (Kemmis et al., 2014). This resonates with the idea of teaching monolingually which is ‘routinised’ as the perceived norm and may not be critically evaluated or questioned.

6) It allows for exploration of the relationship between theory and practice in a direct way.

Within CPAR there are different understandings as to the degree of participation and whether participants should be involved in the data analysis. I wanted to promote the shared sense of ownership within the research; however, for practical reasons in this study, I was entirely responsible for the analysis and the interpretation of the data. I consider the extent to which the CPAR framework was successful in terms of participant engagement in Chapter nine. In the following section I consider my own position within the CPAR framework I have outlined.

My role within the research

In developing the research design, I considered my own positionality alongside issues of subjectivity and how best to accurately represent the 'truth' in the research. Initially I considered ways I could be more 'objective', believing that this would make the research more valuable but as I gained a deeper understanding and more confidence with the interpretivist paradigm, I learnt that my position and subjectivity within the project were to be embraced. As Phipps (2013a) notes, such decolonising methodologies are not neutral or objective. Within CPAR there are recognised benefits of being directly involved in the research, not least that I was able to draw directly on my twenty years' experience of English language teaching to build a strong relationship with the participants. All forms of action research reject research approaches where an external observer enters a setting to record and represent what is happening.

As Kemmis et al. (2014) note, 'owning' the way research is carried out is often regarded as an empowering experience for participants. At the beginning of the project, I could not be sure how successful such an approach would be as it depended on the extent to which the participants engaged with the research. This approach became possible due to high levels of participant attendance, investment and engagement, factors which resulted in more meaningful findings.

An account of myself

Judith Butler's (2005) 'giving an account of oneself' provided an essential starting point to consider my own positionality and I draw on this in full in

Chapter seven. Butler (2005) explains that this is not a question that individuals can fully clarify by themselves. It is relational rather than a reflexive activity, dependent on multiple others as it draws on the significance of social relationships. There is an ethical responsibility to make oneself vulnerable because of what one cannot know; 'my account of myself is partial, haunted by that for which I can devise no definitive story' (Butler, 2005, p. 40).

For me, the research included elements of 'border crossing' between different roles; I was a coordinator of our project, a teacher/ facilitator and a participant -observer. I was also placed in a position of vulnerability and exposure, as a learner and as my participants' student. I was a beginner, linguistically incompetent in all four of their languages which created many 'moments of unknowingness' which Butler (2005) notes 'tend to emerge in the context of relations to others' (p. 20). These concepts intersect with identity reconstruction and liminality which I explore in the following section and return to in Chapters seven and eight.

As Phipps (2013b) notes, we cannot fully explain our reasons for emerging in one way or another. Perhaps the natural starting point for my account of myself in terms of this study, is my own language biography. It seems to be the place from which people understand the teaching and learning of languages and associated research. Over the years I have frequently been asked how many languages I speak whenever I am asked about my work. For years I have answered this by explaining the different ways I 'know' other languages; German from studying German language and literature at university and an Erasmus year in Frankfurt, Japanese from living and teaching in Japan, Spanish from travelling in South/Central America/Mexico for extended periods, French from studying at A-level, a bit of Khmer from volunteering in Cambodia, some Russian from travelling alone in Russia, and little bits of other languages including some basic Palestinian Arabic from the online course I took in preparation for my PhD. These experiences are embedded in my way of viewing this research and my understanding of language and language learning. I have also explained for years how these different parts of each language combine as one 'big' language as a 'whole'. I can now refer to this as my 'linguistic repertoire'.

I am a product of the British education system where French and German were privileged in the 1990s in England where I grew up. I studied French to A-level and German to degree level before moving to Japan in my early twenties. Some of the languages I have learnt outside the UK (Japanese, Khmer, Russian) have a non-roman script and as a result I have felt my literacy skills stripped away from the point of arrival in the country. I have experienced how it feels to be unable to read or write in the language you are surrounded by and the impact of this on daily life. I have worked in English language teaching for twenty years as both a teacher and a manager, in contexts were English is a foreign language and in ESOL contexts in the UK. These experiences underpinned this research.

Phipps (2013b) notes the ways that linguistic incompetence can support the development of ethical relationships within intercultural research. Working in such a way includes opportunity for us to risk ourselves 'precisely at moments of unknowingness, when what follows us diverges from what lies before us, when our willingness to become undone to experience language as wound or lack in relation to others constitutes our chance of becoming human' (Butler, 2005, p. 136). Had I been linguistically competent in Tigrinya, Tamil, Farsi and Arabic this would have been a very different piece of research. My linguistic incompetence, my lacking in their languages, was vital as it provided genuine vulnerability and humility as a starting point for our shared work. My identity and language biography continued to be shaped by this research as I became a learner of Tigrinya, Tamil, Farsi and Arabic. Our identities within the project were shaped by our shared experiences and the community we developed together.

From undertaking initial research methods courses I had the view that being 'subjective' was somehow less valuable than being 'objective' about your research, a view which I moved away from significantly over the course of the fieldwork. Within the CPAR framework the ideal of 'objectivity' is replaced by an active and proactive process of critical self-reflection (Kemmis et al., 2014). My work is grounded in a commitment to ethical considerations created by the responsibility and an awareness that I am providing voice to the participants' experiences.

Despite the benefits of creating research in this way, I was also aware that I needed to clarify my own positionality and values to provide clarity on how I

interpreted the data. Although much of the literature on qualitative research discusses validity as an issue, it also acknowledges that all research is socially constructed to some extent and that biases and ways of seeing the world should be made visible for the research to be considered valid. There is always a degree of subjectivity and interpretation. Critical reflection and evaluation have consistently formed part of my teaching career and as such being reflective as part of this research felt like a natural extension of this way of working.

Liminality

As the research meets the participants at a time of profound change in their lives, I drew on understandings of liminality to help me better understand the significance of this period of transition and its impact on our work. The concept of 'liminality' is taken from anthropology, originating from the Latin word 'līmen', meaning 'threshold' (Turner, 1969). Turner (1969) defines liminality as a place of 'betwixt and between' of being 'neither here nor there'. It is a stage or state that occurs during a process of change or development such as a 'rite of passage' (Turner, 1969).

Beech (2011) connects this middle stage with a process of identity construction and reconstruction when a person is 'neither one thing nor the other'(p. 286). During this transition phase, social structures are disrupted and the usual limits of thought, self-understanding and behaviour are relaxed to accommodate this regeneration (Beech, 2011). Turner (1985) notes that liminality is essential for such regeneration and change in individuals and society, a concept I return to within the discussion on 'communitas' in Chapter six.

The project can be viewed as a liminal space between existing identity and the new identity created through the process of learning another language and adjusting to a new life in Scotland. Meyer and Land (2005) describe a liminal space as a 'third space', a 'liquid' space, which transforms and is transformed by the person as he or she moves through it. It includes an understanding of both self- identity and social identity (Beech, 2011) and is a stage full of possibility and opportunity.

The fieldwork provided a space in which each of us tried out these new identities, myself included, as a learner of Tamil, Tigrinya and Farsi, reducing

my power within the research process and working together to create new dynamics for working together. This liminality also connects to our decolonising work; ‘decolonising is, indeed, the changing of the relationships of power, control and dependency into ones where there can be a shift towards an equality that was not possible under the previous arrangements’(Phipps, 2019b, p. 23). These liminal shifts were framed within the ecology of our relationship, as our own identities adapted, a theme I return to in Chapter seven. In the following section I discuss how these principles were reflected in the research methods.

Researching multilingually

I made full use of my own linguistic repertoire throughout the project by operating from the heteroglossic perspective outlined in Chapter two and embracing a translingual mindset (Canagarajah, 2013). In addition to writing the thesis in English and conducting most of the literature review in English, the research also included the use of five new languages for me (Tigrinya, Tamil, Farsi, Arabic and to a much lesser extent, Welsh) and also German, a language I had barely spoken for twenty years.

Holmes et al. (2013) highlight that researchers should give full consideration of the possibilities for carrying out research in more than one language and the complexities attached to working in this way. It is important to account for the implications of such monolingual or multilingual methodological choices. Due to increased opportunities to work internationally, many researchers are ‘engaged in research that can be described as multilingual, even if they do not recognise it as such’ (Holmes et al., 2013, p. 287). Ganassin and Holmes (2019) suggest the need to critically reflect on researching multilingually and how this is an often-overlooked aspect of the doctoral study. Researchers should consider how they conceptualise, understand, generate, analyse, interpret and report data when more than one language is involved and ‘the complex negotiated relationships between research and researched as they engaged with one another in multilingual sites’ (Holmes et al., 2013, p. 297).

I considered how best to represent the participants’ experiences and voices and how to incorporate multilingual data. During the learning sessions, much of our work was carried out orally, moving between English and the participants' languages. Participants told me words/expressions in their languages and I

repeated what they told me. Each participant made notes in their language alongside English and I noted down what I could, whilst also ensuring activities continued to flow.

When working outside the classroom, it was impractical to make written notes. I prioritised our languaging and meaning-making in the moment as I felt writing everything down would counteract the decolonising approach. I also noticed participants sometimes seemed uncomfortable when I asked to take photos of their work. It was important that participants had ownership of their written work and could take this home with them. Understanding and respecting their feelings was essential and I prioritised their comfort and learning whilst balancing this with gathering data. When appropriate, I collected examples of the participants' work, but as this was not always possible, this limited the multilingual data.

Instead, I wrote detailed fieldnotes after each session to capture fragments of multilingual data alongside my observations. My fieldnotes tell the narrative of the research and are autoethnographic as they draw on my role and reflections as an integral part of the fieldwork. I am written into this narrative as a participant-observer, allowing me to illustrate the nature of our multilingual interactions and the human, imperfect languaging of our work.

An understanding of Phipps' (2013b) 'linguistic incompetence' and how this provides solidarity were central to how we incorporated the participants' languages in our work and I discuss this in detail in Chapter eight. The place of Tigrinya, Tamil, Farsi and Arabic within the research is clearly outlined throughout this thesis alongside the reasons for incorporating these languages. The impact of my linguistic incompetence was so significant that I dedicate Chapter seven to this theme to allow a full and detailed exploration.

For the fieldwork in Germany, I read articles and websites in German and reported my findings in English within this thesis. My observations and discussions with staff and learners at the GRC language school in Frankfurt took place mostly in German and I have reported these in English. I chose to write the thesis in English as I wanted to focus on the use of Tigrinya, Farsi, Tamil and Arabic rather than the place of German in the research as this was not the main focus of my study.

Methods

In this section I discuss the four main stages of the research and the methods used to carry out the project.

Understanding the contexts of the Red Cross in Glasgow, Wales and Germany

To gain an understanding of the work of the BRC in Glasgow I spent two half days shadowing drop-in sessions for refugee clients to learn about BRC services, client needs and their referral system. I also observed two ESOL classes for BRC clients to help me understand how these language learning needs are currently being met. These discussions and observations informed the development of the teaching study.

I carried out ten interviews with sector specialists in Wales and Germany (five in each country) to enable insight from experts working within language learning in these contexts. The terms of each interview were determined in collaboration with the individual being interviewed. All participants consented to audio recording. Interviews were transcribed using intelligent verbatim or 'clean' transcription which enabled me to focus on the meaning of what was being said and allowed me to edit out fillers and pauses within the interview data. Transcripts were returned to participants for member checking and were only analysed once they had been agreed by both parties.

In addition to the interviews outlined above, I visited the Red Cross branches in Newport and Frankfurt, met with staff and observed language classes in each setting. Findings from Wales and Germany were recorded in fieldnotes and observations and are explored in Chapter four.

Fieldwork in Scotland

In this section I discuss how the teaching study was carried out. This includes the learning sessions, intergenerational learning and data collection. I also discuss ethics, consent and the role of interpreters.

The teaching study

The teaching study took place in Glasgow over a period of five months from February to June 2019. Participants self-selected for the study which meant I had very little information about them before we met. Participants were invited by the BRC to attend an initial information session to learn about the research and decide if they wanted to take part. The information session formed the first session of the two-week (four 2-hour sessions) pilot study.

The pilot study (Chapter five) enabled me to evaluate the teaching methods, materials and ways of working together before leading into the main study as part of the CPAR spiral. The pilot also gave participants the opportunity to try out the learning sessions before deciding if they wanted to take part in the main study. The content of the learning sessions was decided in collaboration with the research participants allowing participants to co-design the project as much as possible. The teaching study combined theory, practice and critical reflection on practice as part of the CPAR spiral. Connecting theory and practice was essential, as Freire (2000) notes, 'practice without theory is pure activism, whereas theory without practice 'becomes simply blah blah blah' (p.30).

Some of the learning sessions were delivered as straightforward language learning activities within the classroom. We also took the learning out of the classroom as much as possible to connect the activities to the local context, a key feature of the ecological approach detailed in Chapter two. This was particularly important to the participants as they were so new to the city.

As I did not meet the participants until the first day of the pilot study, this meant I was restricted in terms of how much I could plan in advance. This openness was critical to the CPAR and decolonising approach. Instead of planning the content, I gathered ideas and suggestions as preparation guided by conversations with BRC staff in Glasgow and the findings from Wales and Germany. My initial ideas included the use of picture books to develop intergenerational activities; however, at the first meeting the participants requested that we focus on 'everyday' topics to support them with settling into life in Glasgow such as using the bus, shopping, healthcare and things to do in the local area. Content was informed by ongoing feedback from participants.

I initially intended for the main study to consist of 7 two-hour sessions, but this was extended at the participants' request to 14 two-hour learning sessions. This additional time gave us more scope to get to know each other and explore the key themes, resulting in richer, more detailed data. All learning sessions were supported by participant observation which resulted in detailed fieldnotes which I draw on in Chapters six, seven, eight and nine. These notes included informal dialogue and feedback from participants as well as my own reflections.

During the learning sessions I took photos of activities when this seemed appropriate. To do this in a sensitive way meant striking a balance between the need to collect data and record the findings of the research whilst building trust with the participants. I chose not to take photos when I felt this conflicted with the decolonising methodology. When possible, I took photos of us all together, rather than of the participants as 'subjects' of the research and I sent these photos to the participants via WhatsApp so they also had a record of our work together. Participants also took their own photos. At times I did not take photos although I knew this would have provided useful data as I prioritised the experiences of the participants, operating as an enabling researcher and co - teacher.

The teaching study incorporated translanguaging methodology with learners working together using their full linguistic repertoire to complete tasks. The characteristics of a co-learning relationship (García & Wei, 2014b) were embedded in the study and I discuss these in full in Chapter six, alongside the principles of translanguaging which were fundamental to our work.

Intergenerational learning

As my research included family members of different age groups (aged 5 – 38), I needed to consider the intergenerational learning aspect of the project and to ensure that all age groups were engaged in the learning sessions. This included family members working together to complete tasks in their own languages but also consideration of how non-related participants might work together and interact during the learning sessions. Again, this was something I could not be sure of until the first day of the pilot as it would vary dramatically depending on the ages of the children present. In planning this aspect of the work, I considered definitions of intergenerational practice:

> Intergenerational practice aims to bring people together in purposeful, mutually beneficial activities which promote greater understanding and respect between generations and contributes to building more cohesive communities. Intergenerational practice is inclusive, building on the positive resources that the young and old have to offer each other and those around them (Hatton-Yeo, 2010)

In Scotland, 'Generations Working Together' define the principles of good practice for intergenerational work as:

- Mutual and reciprocal
- Culturally grounded
- Participatory: participants should be fully involved in shaping the activity and feel a sense of ownership, connecting the generations.
- Strengthens community bonds and promotes active citizenship-engagement across the generations to emphasise positive connections with the aim of building stronger, better connected communities with increased social capital and citizenship.
- Asset based – building on strengths for success, understanding and mutual respect.
- Well planned – projects should attempt to create positive changes which are an addition to naturally occurring processes.
- Cross-disciplinary or inter-disciplinary – broaden the experience of professional to become more involved in working in an inclusive way to think and much more broadly about how they undertake their work. (Generations Working Together, 2015)

Within the literature on intergenerational practice there is a focus on work across generations of people who are not related. In reviewing the literature on intergenerational practice, I considered the place of families within these definitions. I embedded the idea of specific outcomes for each age group within the teaching study by tailoring activities for parents and children based on the focus on family relationships and how we could support these through learning language together. An example of such an intergenerational activity with different tasks and different outcomes is given in Chapter nine through our activity to create a multilingual body poster.

In this session, the younger children were tasked with drawing the body on large flip chart paper, supported by the parents who sorted vocabulary for labelling body parts and then worked as a team to position the vocabulary cards onto the right place on the poster. Parents then checked with their children that they knew the names for each body part. A final stage with a higher-level outcome took place with the parents writing the labels in both English and their own languages and extending this into a role play to discuss ailments. This type of activity worked well for the group as the younger children were given tasks they could do well (drawing a body) and the parents had a task which challenged them (matching vocabulary, then role playing ailments).

The principles of good practice which 'Generations Working Together' suggest are compatible with both the central tenets of CPAR and an ecological approach. Mutuality and reciprocity are key as are the importance of work that strengthens bonds and working collaboratively.

Interviews with teaching study participants

Three 'semi structured' group interviews were carried out during the teaching study (the end of the pilot, halfway through the main study and at the end of the main study) to gain feedback from participants. Participants opted to do these as group conversations. Each interview lasted approximately 30 minutes and was supported by interpreters. Participants consented to audio recording as a form of documentation. All interviews were transcribed using intelligent verbatim transcription. I returned interview transcripts and a 'key findings' document (Appendix A) to participants for discussion and approval. Participants evaluated the findings, serving as a form of member checking to support validity, visibility and transparency of the research process (Cohen et al., 2018). They did not suggest any changes.

Ethics of care

The research was underpinned by participation and acknowledged the messiness of intercultural relationships and social science research. This also included the ethical principle of responsibility towards participants and their welfare (Cohen et al., 2018) and an ongoing understanding of 'ethics in practice' (Farrimond, 2012), once the fieldwork was underway.

I applied for and gained ethical approval through the University ethics system in the usual way for working 'with human subjects' (see Appendix B). However, I felt that, due to the nature of my work, ethical considerations needed to form an even more significant part of the planning, the research design and the delivery.

Refugees and Asylum Seekers are not considered 'protected adults' under the Protection of Vulnerable Groups (Scotland) Act 2007, therefore I was not required to seek a PVG check to undertake this work. However, due to previous teaching positions, I already held a PVG check and I opted to have this updated. I also wanted my PVG check to explicitly cover working with children but my application for this was rejected on the basis that I probably would not be left alone with children. It felt deeply uncomfortable to me that PVG checks were not an essential requirement given the circumstances in which the participants had arrived in the UK, the ages of the children (the youngest was 5 years old) and how closely we worked together. Conversations with the BRC also reflected frustrations that this is not a requirement and it is becoming increasingly difficult to gain PVG checks for this type of work. Although refugees and asylum seekers are not considered 'vulnerable' under this scheme, taking the participants' personal circumstances into consideration felt necessary to me and ethically appropriate for the following reasons:

- all participants had recently fled their home country under difficult circumstances, possibly leaving loved ones behind and facing ongoing stress and trauma as a result;
- they had faced extended periods separated from family members and were now adjusting to life in Scotland, having very recently reunited with a spouse or partner with whom they may not have lived for many years;
- potential tensions regarding children living with their father again after many years.
- now in Scotland, they were having to navigate the current conditions of the 'hostile environment' which often include problems with housing, financial worries and uncertainty about their futures.

As my research meets the participants at the point of arrival, it was important that I worked sensitively to create a positive and welcoming experience to

support them to look towards their futures as New Scots rather than focusing on the circumstances which had resulted in their need to leave their countries. It was important that our interactions were positive and were carried out with an understanding of and sensitivity to these circumstances. My research sought to acknowledge the strength, determination and resilience that coming to the UK in this way necessitates and to build on the great many skills and capabilities of the participants.

I reminded participants that they did not have to refer to their individual circumstances unless they wanted to, and that the subject of this research was not connected to this is any way. To this end, I ensured that I did not ask personal questions regarding their circumstances and assured them participation in all activities was optional.

I also made sure the participants understood the significance of their role within the research by reiterating the importance of their views and thanking them for being part of the project. Working with an interpreter for each interview gave me confidence that this was clear to everyone. I also aimed to create a learning environment in which everyone felt comfortable, a space where they could get away from any potential challenges adjusting to their new lives here in Glasgow. Pseudonyms are used throughout this thesis to protect identity which was agreed at the point of gaining informed consent.

I was aware that participants might require additional support which fell outside the remit of this project. The partnership with the BRC meant I could refer participants to relevant support services if necessary. With the exception of the information provided regarding ESOL classes at the end of the project, no one accessed additional support to my knowledge.

Consent

The BRC provided interpreters to assist with ensuring informed consent at the initial information session. Consent forms were designed and approved by my supervisors and the University Ethics Committee. The participant information sheet (Appendix C) was written in simple language so that it could easily be translated and spoken by an interpreter. This gave participants the chance to

have the aims of the research explained to them in full in their own language and to ask any questions.

Ongoing consent was embedded throughout the project by repeating the aims of the research and checking that participants were happy to continue, in keeping with the principle of ethics ‘at every turn’ (Cohen et al., 2018). I kept detailed fieldnotes with dates and reflections to evidence informed and ongoing consent throughout the research process.

I also carefully considered the use of formal paperwork, knowing the impression that could be given by asking participants to sign a form agreeing to be part of the research. For many refugees and asylum seekers such formal paperwork is associated with the hostile asylum system and I understood that asking for a signature could create suspicion and counter the decolonising methodology by creating a power imbalance. It was important to distance our project from such associations. To mitigate this, I gave participants the option of giving audio recorded consent. None of the participants opted to do this, preferring instead to give their consent by signing a form with the support of an interpreter who worked with each participant individually.

The role of interpreters

It was necessary for me to work with interpreters to gain informed consent and to fully explain the aims of the research. During the initial planning stage, I considered if it would be possible to do this informally with participants supporting each other but as participants were just beginning to learn English and as the adults did not share a language, this was not possible. I took guidance from the BRC at this stage and we agreed that this would work best with the support of interpreters.

In addition to the initial information session, interpreters also attended the last half of three other sessions during the main study to assist with the group interviews but were never present during the learning sessions or other activities. Working with interpreters for the interviews allowed me to ask participants about their views of the research in their own language which I felt underpinned a multilingual approach and enabled more detailed discussion. However, it also brought additional considerations as I questioned how I could

authentically capture the voices of the people I was working with if their words were always interpreted by a third party. Having interpreters present only for the interviews also altered the dynamics and the balance of power during the interaction, as I explore in detail in Chapter six.

Data analysis

In terms of data analysis I see my role as 'researcher as bricoleur'(Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Denzin and Lincoln (2008) use two metaphors to explain this idea. The first is of a 'quilt maker' drawing together different materials to create a patchwork quilt. The second is that of a filmmaker assembling images into montages. Both metaphors describe the process of drawing together different, eclectic fragments of data. This approach allowed me to apply the interpretative framework for this research at a theoretical and methodological level.

The interpretive bricoleur produces a 'pieced together set of representations that is fitted to the specifics of a complex situation' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 5). It is strategic and self-reflexive, responding to the research as it emerges and adapting methods and 'data collection' in a pragmatic way. Denzin and Lincoln (2008) note how the process of creating dialogical text, 'which presumes an active audience, creates a 'give and take' between reader and writer' (p.7).

Finding the themes

In piecing together the data, I was guided by the six-step process of thematic analysis laid out in Braun and Clarke (2006) which provided a framework to identify the key themes. This worked well for the data collected in Germany and Wales as it was mostly based on interview transcripts and observations. I was mindful that this method has been criticised as being too simplistic and I found this more of a guide than a fixed method when analysing the more complex, messy 'data' from the fieldwork in Scotland.

In considering how best to represent the full range of the multimodal data from the teaching study I coupled this initial thematic analysis with a process of crystallization (Ellingson, 2009) to allow scope for analysis of the more 'slippery' data. This included analysis of interview transcripts, fieldnotes, observations,

photos I had taken, materials from classes and my own impressions and reflections some of which continued to emerge and distil as wrote up my thesis. Ellingson's (2009) description of crystallization sees qualitative/quantitative and art/science methods as a continuum. Starting with thematic analysis gave me an initial framework for the more 'typical' data and as my confidence grew, I felt more able to incorporate more creative approaches, along the continuum which Ellingson describes. I discuss the steps of thematic analysis in the following section before looking at crystallization.

Six steps to thematic analysis

Braun and Clarke (2012) recognise a common pitfall in thematic analysis is to use the main interview questions as the themes and that doing so indicates that the data have been summarised and organised, rather than analysed in a critical way. In the case of this research, the themes which emerged were very different from the interview questions. The commitment to the decolonising methodology and deliberate openness was fundamental to every aspect of the research including the analysis and ultimately it led to the need to draw on a broader base of literature as a more interdisciplinary foundation. I reflect on the implications of this interdisciplinarity and what this might mean for the field of applied linguistics in Chapter nine.

Braun and Clarke (2006) distinguish between semantic and latent themes as part of this thematic analysis. Semantic themes are 'within the explicit or surface meanings of the data and the analyst is not looking for anything beyond what a participant has said or what has been written' (p.84). The latent level looks beyond what has been said and 'starts to identify or examine the underlying ideas, assumptions, and conceptualisations – and ideologies - that are theorised as shaping or informing the semantic content of the data' (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 84). Using crystallization supported this process as I incorporated different modalities of data to deepen my analysis and consider all angles.

I chose to identify the key themes from this initial starting point as thematic analysis provides a flexible method for data analysis and it is not restricted to a particular epistemological or theoretical perspective (Braun & Clarke, 2006); it offers a clear and usable framework which can provide a rich and detailed, yet complex account of data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). It also allows researchers to go

back and forth between stages of analysis. Writing up is seen as an active process which forms part of the analysis rather than only being possible once the analysis is complete and I found this compatible with the emergent nature of the research as it allowed me to repeatedly revisit the findings and dig ever deeper into the themes.

The six-step process is as follows:

Step 1: Become familiar with the data

This means reading and engaging with the data in an active way, whilst searching for meanings and patterns. As I transcribed the interviews myself and was actively involved in all data collection, I was already familiar with the data at this stage. Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest that transcription should be an interpretative act where meanings are created, rather than a mechanical one of simply transposing spoken sounds into a written account.

Step 2: Generate initial codes

Braun and Clarke (2006) note that the process of coding is also part of analysis. At this stage I was mindful that, 'the flattened, coded tones of transcripts, with their numbered rows are divorced from the highly storied, narratively and performatively rich contexts of intercultural communication' (Phipps, 2013a, p. 22). As a new researcher I found coding the transcripts a helpful starting point, but I also knew that 'flattening' the conversations in this way would not bring the story of the research to life and for this reason I used crystallization to deepen this narrative and provide a richer analysis.

Step 3: Search for themes

Collating codes into potential themes and gathering all data relevant to each theme.

Step 4: Review themes

Checking the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis.

Step 5: Define and name themes

Ongoing analysis to refine each theme, and the overall narrative of the analysis. Generate clear definitions and names for each theme.

Step 6: Write-up

Producing the report: This is the final opportunity for analysis. Selection of extract examples to bring the narrative to life, final analysis of selected extracts. Referring the analysis back to the research question and literature, producing a report of the analysis.

(Braun & Clarke, 2006)

Once I had carried out the initial thematic analysis, I considered how to incorporate the other modes of data. This meant patching the data together into meaningful interpretations. I then used crystallization rather than traditional triangulation of data sources to ensure validity. I ensured that my fieldnotes, my autoethnographic observations and the participants' own words also fitted together to illustrate the themes as they emerged.

Crystallization

Ellingson (Ellingson, 2009) stresses the importance of encountering and making sense of data through more than one way of knowing, and compares this to viewing an object through a crystal; 'crystals are prisms that reflect externalities and refract within themselves, creating different colours, patterns, and arrays, casting off in different directions'(Richardson & St Pierre, 2018, p. 822). Crystallization includes a combination of forms of analysis to build 'a rich and openly partial account of a phenomenon that problematizes its own construction, highlights researchers' vulnerabilities and positionality, makes claims about socially constructed meanings, and reveals the indeterminacy of knowledge claims even as it makes them' (Ellingson, 2009, p. 4).

Richardson and St Pierre (2018) describe the crystal as a central image for validity in qualitative research as it allows for 'an infinite variety of shapes, transmutations, multi-dimensionalities, and angles of approach' (p.822), rather than the triangle, which is a rigid, fixed, two-dimensional object more suited to positivist approaches. Crystallization 'deconstructs the traditional idea of "validity" and the idea of there being one 'single truth' (Richardson & St Pierre,

2018, p. 823), noting that ‘what we see depends on our angle of repose’ (Richardson & St Pierre, 2018, p. 822). It complements other qualitative approaches, allowing researchers to generate ‘a deepened, complex interpretation’ (Ellingson, 2009). All good qualitative research aims to provide a detailed understanding of a topic through ‘thick description’ which is the basis of our methods (Geertz, 1973). The process of crystallization also resonates with me as it allows for high levels of reflexivity in my own role within the research process and my interaction with the participants.

Crystallization also counters the issue of qualitative researchers trying to fit their research into positivist frameworks where objectivity is seen as key. It allows writing as a part of the data analysis. As a new researcher I found this a very useful practice as my findings from the pilot study were written as a book chapter for publication shortly after concluding the initial pilot phase. This included the consideration of the type of text I was creating during the writing process and the balance between science and art. My texts included ‘findings’ but also narratives better represented by a more descriptive way of writing. The poem from the Spring School and the participants’ own words formed part of my reasoning for working in this way, approaching ‘writing as a method of inquiry’ (Richardson & St Pierre, 2018).

Ellingson (2009) urges us to select the ways that best represent the truth in our research. Following the ‘qualitative continuum’ I see this project as a ‘middle ground approach’ (Ellingson, 2009, p. 7), incorporating crystallization and CPAR to map the process of creating the research rather than aiming for infallibility. I bore in mind the messiness of intercultural research with ethics and methods which are not neutral (Phipps, 2013a).

Incorporating crystallization allowed me to become more analytical, less simplistic and more multidimensional. A process which was always set against the backdrop of doing justice to the learners and to the process of our research. Engaging in the iterative spiral of CPAR allowed my analysis to be ongoing, enabling me to respond to what worked well in the learning sessions and to make changes as our work developed.

Ellingson (2009) talks of the frustration of not being able to mix and match methods and being bound to specific methods. As my confidence grew within the

research process, I made this my own by selecting the methods and approaches that I felt fitted this work best. I feel this approach best represents the work undertaken as an honest and critical reflection of the shared project. The extension of the project and the five-month period I spent working with this small group of women further reinforced that these methods were appropriate for our research context.

Conclusions

In creating my research design, I initially considered whether it would be possible to carry out this research from a more objective standpoint and this might have been possible if the type of language learning I sought to explore was already taking place. In such a case, perhaps the learning sessions could have been delivered by someone else and I could have been external to the research, operating as an impartial observer. Had this been the case, this would have been a very different piece of research, arguably one which did not allow for such close collaboration and such richness in terms of process and of findings.

As I have discussed, the CPAR framework was selected due to its compatibilities with the decolonising methodology I felt was essential to underpin this work and the participatory nature of the research design. Critical reflection was embedded in the study rather than aiming for objectivity.

The study is small, with four families taking part and as such I am very aware that I can only represent a small number of views and experiences for this research. However, given the short time the participants had been in the country, the very limited shared language and the fact that the participants did not share a language, I feel it was a strength of the research that I was able to work with each of the participants so closely and provide this level of much needed support. This also helped us to quickly build a good relationship and to carry out the research in a respectful and responsive way which allowed for individual views to be represented. Our relationship became so significant that the impact of how we worked together, built trust and worked collaboratively became a key theme in its own right. I discuss the significance of the ecology of our relationship in full in Chapter six.

The fact that the participants took part in the project within a few weeks of arriving, provided a unique opportunity to explore the nature of this work at the point when it is most needed. This work is integration from ‘day one’ in the most genuine and authentic sense and as such provides a unique contribution to the field of applied linguistics and refugee integration which I detail in Chapter nine. In the following chapter I discuss the work with the Red Cross branches in Wales and Germany, I discuss the findings from this fieldwork, how they relate to the Scottish context and how they shaped the fieldwork in Glasgow.

Chapter Four: Wales and Germany

Introduction

In this chapter I give an overview of the fieldwork in Wales and Germany. In the previous chapter I explored the reasons for including both of these countries within the initial planning stages of the CPAR spiral. This chapter is structured by considering language learning for refugees in Wales first before moving on to Germany, then drawing the findings together and illustrating how they shaped the study in Scotland.

Wales

As the only officially bilingual country within the UK, Wales holds unique opportunities for refugees to learn two official languages of the host community. As translanguaging originated in Wales, I was interested to find out if this was also used in ESOL classes and whether this extended for migrants learning Welsh and English as part of a multilingual linguistic repertoire.

Wales has 4 dispersal centres for asylum seekers: Newport, Cardiff, Swansea and Wrexham. Most migrants have not chosen to live in Wales but have been placed there by the Home Office though the dispersal scheme with the majority being settled in Cardiff and Swansea. The overall landscape of refugees in Wales has also been shaped by the arrival of Syrian refugees through the Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme (VPR) which has resulted in refugees being resettled all over Wales, including rural areas for the first time. This is significant due to the elements of regionality which impact the 'micro' language ecology as some areas of Wales are predominately Welsh speaking and others are predominantly English speaking. The resettlement of Syrians throughout Scotland through the VPR has had a similar impact in Scotland with small numbers of Syrians being settled in more rural areas whilst Glasgow remains the only dispersal centre. Newport and Glasgow have specific similarities as they are both major dispersal centres within a devolved country within the UK.

The key lines of inquiry for Wales were:

- How are reunited refugee families currently supported with their language learning in Wales?
- Is translanguaging present within the learning of Welsh/English for refugees?
- How is the language ecology represented in teaching and learning?

In this stage of the research, I visited the BRC offices in Newport and observed one ESOL class, one AVAIL (Amplifying the Voices of Asylum seekers and refugees for Integration and Life skills) session and met with staff. I also interviewed five sector specialists to gain a better understanding of the wider context of language learning for refugees in Wales:

1. Theresa Mgadzdah Jones, Refugee and Migration Support Coordinator, British Red Cross, Newport
2. Gwennan Higham, Lecturer, Welsh Department, Swansea University
3. Policy Officer, Welsh Language Commissioner
4. Ruth Gwilym Rasool, Refugee Support Operations Manager, Wales
5. Erica Williams, ESOL Coordinator, Wales Strategic Migration Partnership

The following discussion is based on the interview transcripts, my observations and key documents which are relevant to the lines of inquiry.

Language learning for refugees in the Welsh context

The Welsh Government supports ESOL classes free of charge for refugees, migrants and asylum seekers. Like Scotland, Wales has its own ESOL Strategy which lays out the strategic objectives for ESOL delivery and coordination in Wales. The strategy also makes the language ecology of Wales clear and what this means for language learning within the bilingual context. The refreshed 2019 strategy states:

> Being a bilingual society provides a richness that can make learning English all the more interesting, and our funded providers are encouraged to integrate the Welsh language into their ESOL classes where possible. Recognising and understanding that there are two languages in use in Wales is very important. (Welsh Government, 2019, p. 13)

As the strategy states, ESOL providers are encouraged to integrate some Welsh into their ESOL classes to support learners to recognise and understand that there are two languages in use in Wales and two languages on any official letters they receive. The sector specialists I interviewed highlighted that this is a particular challenge for those unfamiliar with the Roman script and that Welsh place names and signs present additional challenges for learners. The strategy explains how resettling Syrian refugees across Wales into predominantly Welsh speaking communities requires language provision which allows them to integrate. Local authorities are permitted to use their Home Office ESOL funding to support settled people to learn Welsh, as well as English (Welsh Government, 2019).

One of the main barriers to migrants learning Welsh is the fact that Welsh classes are not free, the only evidence of financial support for learning Welsh comes from my conversation with Erica who coordinates the Wales Strategic Migration Partnership and tells me about how well the VPR scheme is funded compared to other schemes:

> ‘There’s always a line in the guidance that they do recognise that Welsh might be an advantage but the ESOL funding is purely for English because they consider that to be essential for integration into the UK and to some extent that is true because you would be stuck if you didn’t speak any English however…an email did come round saying that the Home Office had considered the situation in Wales and if your Syrian refugees expressed a wish to learn Welsh and you were happy that they had a functional level of English then you could use the funding to pay for Welsh lessons.’

The National Centre for Learning Welsh has responsibility for the fees policy for Welsh for Adults and they are currently considering their policy on fees for refugees and asylum seekers (Scaife, 2018). ESOL learners who wish to learn Welsh are encouraged to do so through the Welsh for Adults provision funded by the Welsh Government.

Discussions with the sector specialists indicated that payment for classes is a complex issue. ESOL also includes additional support for learners in terms of

other issues they may be facing with settling into life in the UK whereas current Welsh provision focuses solely on language learning.

ESOL teachers attitudes towards learning Welsh were also highlighted as having a significant impact on learners' experiences with learning Welsh. In some cases, ESOL tutors may be the only person from the host community that learners have contact with and as a result their views on Welsh may influence those of their learners and whether they see this as a necessary part of their lives in Wales. Ruth told me: 'What I found is that when people are going to ESOL classes that is pretty much their only contact with people from the host community, is their ESOL teacher so a lot of perception and knowledge about the country depends on that teacher'.

There are also important considerations in terms of policy for language learning for refugees in Wales. Although Wales has an ESOL Strategy there is no equivalent 'WSOL' (Welsh for Speakers of Other Languages) policy. Gwennan tells me it is positive that policies such as the Welsh Language Measure (Cymru Cynulliad Cenedlaethol, 2011) are in place: 'the latest strategy, the aim is to reach a million Welsh speakers by 2050 and there is, for the first time, slightly more reference to migrants and the fact that they should be included in the picture.' As Welsh lessons are delivered through the medium of English this presents an additional barrier for migrants who have lower levels of English. In the following section I consider the specific work of the BRC in Newport.

Visit to BRC Newport

Women's ESOL Class

On the first day of my visit to the BRC in Newport I attended a women-only ESOL group. Seven learners attended on the day I visited although this number is usually higher. The class has an informal feel and is very welcoming. Theresa, who coordinates the classes, comes along for the first part of the class to take the register and support the women with any issues that have arisen since they last met. There is the familiar sense of the ESOL class being a key point of contact for refugee women to come for support with wide range of issues including housing, school, financial matters, childcare etc. There is a sense of community within this supportive environment and Theresa tells me that this is

something she is working to foster amongst the women by encouraging them to meet for a coffee or take their children to the park together on the days when they don't have a class.

There is an excellent creche facility downstairs in the same building with enough places for all of the children of the women in the class. The atmosphere is warm and welcoming with tea, coffee, water and biscuits provided and the women appear to feel very comfortable with the setting and with the staff. The classroom is a large room with one central table where everyone sits facing each other. I am made to feel very welcome and the learners are keen to know who I am, where I'm from and why I don't sound so Scottish! We start the class with an informal chat about why I am visiting, where they are from and how they feel about living in Newport. It's a really windy day and as most learners walk to the class; some people haven't made it today due to the bad weather.

Most of the women in the group are in their twenties and thirties and we discuss how their children are learning Welsh (it's compulsory up to year 9, GCSE level in Wales) but they themselves are not. I ask if they feel they need or want to learn Welsh and I'm surprised that only one person says they feel strongly that they do. Theresa feels this is due to the area of Wales where they live as Newport isn't such a strong Welsh speaking area and it is possible to live there without using Welsh at all. There is a discussion about how children come home from school singing songs in Welsh and that the mothers would like to be able to understand these. Theresa greets the class in Welsh saying 'Prynhawn da' to the group (good afternoon) but this is the only Welsh that is used in the class today.

The classes cover general topics that are typical of most ESOL classes. Theresa and I discuss the importance of content reflecting real life scenarios such as speaking to someone from the council, parents' evening, speaking to the doctor and other everyday situations. It is also clear that the classes go beyond simply helping learners to improve their English. Theresa stresses the importance of encouraging the women to forge relationships with each other, of providing a 'safe environment' and practising English in social situations.

The AVAIL project: collaborative, peer-led learning

The AVAIL project is a European transnational project 'for coordinating the development of refugee led participatory integration projects between refugees, asylum seekers and host societies by utilising and developing best practice in co-production approaches' (British Red Cross, 2020). The project is funded by the European Commission and contributes to the smooth integration of refugees and asylum seekers through piloting, learning from, and embedding proven and new models of work that are based on participatory, peer and community approaches.

On my second morning at the BRC in Newport I attend an AVAIL session to gain an understanding of the collaborative, peer-led approach which underpins the project. The room is divided into tables, one per language, each group supported by an interpreter. The sessions are for asylum seekers most of whom are newly arrived. Today's topic is 'NASS Support' and a representative from the Welsh Refugee Council gives an introductory overview of what this is and how it can be accessed (referring to it as 'house + money'). There is a lot of discussion about how to survive on the £37.75 per week that asylum seekers receive, how to use the 'Aspen' card and how this differs from a standard bank card, how to use cash machines and what to do about housing issues. There is an activity on which organisation to go to for help and a group activity with scenarios for groups to discuss and decide how to approach common issues including problems with housing and letters from the Home Office.

Barriers to learning ESOL

In Wales the key barriers for refugees to learn English are the lack of childcare and long waiting lists to access ESOL provision. The creche at the Newport offices is essential and Theresa has worked hard to establish this through combining various pots of funding (although working in this way is difficult to ensure long term continuity and development of the service).

Theresa feels strongly that there is a clear desire for people to learn the local language:

> 'despite what the media says that people are not keen to learn the language when they come here, and they want to stay in their own

> communities I have found the absolute opposite. People want to learn, accessing the classes is so difficult and I've got a waiting list with over 70 women and I can't cope. My provision is not enough. I could run numerous classes and crèches. Thankfully we've got AVAIL and they can support those women for a few weeks'

Erica also talks about the barriers of childcare and transport:

> 'They do stop women going and I've also heard of families where one week the husband would go and another week the wife would go but they would never be able to attend all the classes because one of them had to be home with the children or to meet the children from school'.

Erica tells me about the importance of having informal opportunities to practise English such as volunteer support groups, conversation groups, drop ins and coffee mornings and how such opportunities could be made more multilingual:

> 'you've mentioned as well using their own languages in the class and I think I agree with you on this but it's not a universally accepted idea in the ESOL community. I think the feeling that if you do that, they won't be using English, but I just think it would help if you just had somebody who explained a few things now and again in class. I think they would learn quicker and feel a lot more comfortable'

All interviewees recognised the issue of lengthy waiting lists and the goal of most learners to study at college and that there are insufficient places in Wales as there are in Scotland, due to insufficient funding. Erica explained that the issue of waiting lists is being addressed at a local level through the 'Regional ESOL Assessment Central Hub' (REACH) in Cardiff although there are some initial teething problems with people being entered on the list more than once. This system is similar to the Glasgow ESOL Access Register and the issues that have arisen whilst establishing a central system to manage ESOL waiting lists.

There are also additional challenges for reunited families. Theresa tells me how women who come and join their partner can be at particular risk of isolation:

> ‘I think when the first person arrives, gets refugee status and brings their family over, that first person gets a lot of support then sometimes when their family arrives, the individual who is here already might be very familiar with the services that are happening and say “I want this and this and this for my wife” however on the other hand they could also just arrive and fade into the background and don’t really get to do very much. Say if your husband is already here and he’s working he’s got a life set up for himself. You will come as a woman with the children, the children are going to school and you’ll probably just stay at home. I think that is a huge challenge.’

Ruth highlights the benefits of tailored provision which includes an ‘informal approach to begin with’, the very different needs that learners have and how initial support needs to build ‘confidence to come into the classroom’. Ruth explains that an informal class with opportunities to progress into more structured accredited classes works well and that different groups have different needs:

> ‘I think what we’ve found with the Syrian resettlement is those people who might not have been through any education and they were put in the same classes with those who had so there was that unease and not wanting to go to classes, or not being used to it and levels of concentration and different learning styles for different people I suppose.’

English *or* Welsh? English *and* Welsh or English *then* Welsh?

I had hoped to find examples of how translanguaging is used to integrate Welsh into ESOL classes but in contrast I found that with the exception of a few simple greetings in Welsh, ESOL classes are taught monolingually. Translanguaging has not made the transition into the ESOL classroom in Wales as a recognised pedagogy and I could not find evidence of the principles of translanguaging being used to incorporate learners’ own languages within the learning of English of Welsh either. Instead, languages appeared to be kept separate with English being the priority.

Theresa feels that the learners in BRC provision should have the option to learn Welsh:

> ‘I’d always been told these people are here they need to learn English because we speak English, that’s the main priority. My argument has also been “but we are in Wales and we speak Welsh and there are two official languages in this country and we should make sure that our client group, if they want to, they should have access to both”. My experience is there have always been people who have been interested in Welsh, but they have never had the opportunity. When you’re travelling around Wales, you see the signs are bilingual…it would be lovely for the women to be able to walk around and say well ok ‘bread’ that’s ‘bara’ I know what that means, the word for ‘Cardiff’ now I know what that means instead of thinking ‘just English’ ignore the other one that’s underneath.’

The Policy Officer from the Welsh Language Commissioner explains how the system for learning Welsh is kept entirely separate from ESOL:

> ‘It’s a completely separate system to the ESOL network and then once these individuals are directed to Welsh for Adults provision, they can take courses through that, but they are not free…. I think one of the key things to bear in mind is that Welsh for adults and ESOL provision are not the same things, there is no equivalent in terms of how the course is structured, what it encompasses what are the aim of the course. There are differences between them not just because one is free, and the other is not.’

The Policy Officer from the Welsh Language Commissioner explains the relationship between policy and practice telling me that:

> ‘the previous 2014 ESOL policy contained a section that suggested that the Welsh language may be a source of additional difficulty for learners and that is the reason they should be aware of it because you have to tackle the difficult at its source. So, it was not presenting the Welsh language in a very positive light at all. The current newly published policy removes that section which we welcome. So, on the

> one hand you have this issue of what happens at the ESOL side, how these individuals who undertake ESOL provision are informed about the Welsh language, how they are encouraged to learn it and how the Welsh language is portrayed. The second big difficulty is once the individual is directed towards Welsh for adults provision it is not an equivalent provision as I explained. ESOL is not just for learning English, it contains a lot of other elements, skills for life, preparation to live in the community and support for job seeking.'

Despite the focus on English only in ESOL classes, translanguaging is a known and understood strategy in schools to operate between Welsh and English. All interviewees felt there could be benefits to multilingual learning. This is reflected in my interviewed with Theresa:

> 'I haven't seen it used. I guess the reason I think it will work is because we've got Welsh schools where children are learning a bit of English and Welsh and we've got English schools where Welsh has got to be delivered and in that way I can't see why if we're running an English class why we can't have some Welsh thrown in within that class… with our Adult Learning Wales classes for example I've gone in and given the women some core phrases which our tutor has used and if I walked in to an Adult Learning Wales class the ladies won't say 'good morning Theresa' they'll say 'Bore da', they'll say 'pnawn da' and I think that speaks for itself. It shows that given the opportunity the ladies will learn and if they speak more than one language already. Learning another language is not going to be that difficult is it?'

Gwennan also tells me that the ESOL classroom in Wales is predominately an 'English only' space:

> 'From top-down the focus is on English only from my interviews with government officials and ESOL teachers. Not surprisingly with Welsh teachers they said it was very important for equality and for jobs for migrants to learn Welsh […] One of them said we're tied in with the Home Office and you can debate whether they should be learning English or Welsh and that's what I found interesting they were always

> saying English **or** Welsh, not looking at it as one repertoire like all the research today about multilingualism.'

Gwennan also gives a clearer picture of migrants' own attitudes towards learning Welsh:

> 'what stood out in my research was actually what the migrants thought themselves and I spent a lot of time teaching Welsh to them and observing what they did afterwards and they very much were clearly challenging that monolingual ideology saying that "yes, Welsh ***and*** English". That categorisation wasn't there and lots of them referred to their own backgrounds, the fact that they in many cases they had other languages'

Translanguaging?

In terms of translanguaging it seems as if this has yet to transfer into the ESOL classroom. Gwennan tells me:

> 'Translanguaging is something that people certainly do as a practice all the time especially between Welsh and English but I think there's a lot of room to further the term and it's taking on a new form across the world and I don't think that's been developed so much in Wales looking at more and not just bilingualism but also multilingualism.'

Gwennan tells me how translanguaging is understood to refer more to bilingualism in Wales rather than to multilingualism: 'I'm not actually aware of any examples with other languages involved…. In my observations Scotland is moving towards multilingualism more in terms of policy whereas Wales is focussing more on bilingualism and I think in the long run that's neglected a lot of different aspects with migrants with their own languages'

In my interview with Erica, we discuss multilingual learning within the context of how ESOL is currently taught in Wales:

> 'What you've described is new to me. I know about language support in the classroom to help move things along to make sure that everybody has understood but obviously a multilingual approach involves everybody, it's more inclusive, and to me a monolingual

> approach…..there might not be many in the ESOL community in Wales who agree with me on this, but it's just feels so confusing and I know from having taught French in school or having learnt languages myself it is so good to have somebody tell you what that means and then you practise to and then you use it but here never this moment where you're really struggling to understand what's going on and then I think you can't form those words in your head because they don't mean anything to you.'

Gwennan feels a more coordinated approach is the way forward: 'my vision would be to incorporate it into ESOL, into mainstream provision rather than doing something on the side and communicating from the beginning that you're in a bilingual country and we have some Welsh language provision.'

During our interview, Gwennan tells me about her former work as a Welsh language tutor and the resistance that she encountered when suggesting that migrants could learn Welsh: 'a few people actually laughed at the idea'. For several years she taught Welsh taster classes on St David's Day and this was a highlight of her role with 100-200 learners taking part over the course of a few years. The response from learners to the taster sessions was positive however, there were tensions 'from the teachers with the attitude that it was ok to teach Welsh just on St David's Day but that the learning should not go beyond that or become a regular part of the ESOL classes.'

Gwennan tells me that the reasons given for the negativity from ESOL tutors towards learning Welsh included ideas such as 'they have enough problems with English' or that there didn't seem to be a need to learn Welsh or the idea that learners would not be able to cope with learning another language. Some attitudes perhaps stemmed from the fact that the tutors themselves did not speak Welsh with one tutor saying, 'I live my life through English and I'm fine, so surely migrants don't need it either'.

We also discussed the idea that language learning is presented with a need to be linear, mastering one language before another and that English should be prioritised in this sequence of learning. There is an assumption that learning another language before the first 'acquired' might somehow impact negatively on the next (in this case, Welsh) rather than enable the addition of linguistic

features strengthening a person's repertoire, enabling more connections between new language what is already known. In the case of Wales, there is a feeling that English should be learnt before any Welsh can be introduced which reinforces the prioritising of English in contrast to an ecological approach which values other languages as an intrinsic part of the physical ecology in which they are learnt. Theresa, Ruth and Gwennan also feel that Welsh could be introduced within the ESOL context where the relevant structures and support systems are already in place. Gwennan tells me: 'I was just asking about introducing the Welsh language within the ESOL context, but it didn't seem to be something that people could understand very easily, it was either one or the other…there hasn't really been any crossover'.

Learning Welsh would enable learners to be more a part of the local community and to gain a better understanding of Welsh history and Welsh heritage particularly where Welsh is a large part of the local language ecology. Ruth tells me:

> 'It's about integration into communities… I would say in places in the north, maybe Carmarthenshire and those areas you need to learn the language to be part of something. I guess it's a sense of a community. There is a drive for more Welsh language speakers particularly children and I would think traditionally Welsh speaking communities are now seeing the worth of sending their children to Welsh schools. There's a drive to have a million speakers and all of that going on and they're quite keen for refugees and asylum seekers not to be excluded from that. Because you know, it's about their children's future when they've had their lives torn apart, they care very much about their children's futures.'

Erica also tells me that learning Welsh is essential in certain part of Wales and that by not speaking Welsh people have limited employment prospects: 'You're not going to get a job in the public sector in Gwynedd or Anglesey or Conwy possibly Ceredigion and parts of Carmarthenshire unless you speak Welsh. There's a whole sector of employment that will be closed off to you if you're not a Welsh speaker. It is important.'

Ways forward for language learning in Wales

Gwennan feels that a more coordinated approach is the key:

> ‘I find it really hard that people are working in their own boxes and I would like to see cooperation […] I would like to see possibilities for migrants in ESOL classes to be able to do Welsh in ESOL classes and it wouldn’t be these very categorised ideas there would be more room for translanguaging and the Welsh language.’

Overcoming current barriers is also key to improving language learning opportunities, Gwennan tells me:

> ‘One of the barriers is attitudes and different ideologies which I thought had been overcome many years ago and perhaps I was naive when I was living in London that people still feel very strongly against the Welsh language for whatever reason. That was what was quite nice about migrants, they don’t carry this linguistic baggage that many people in Wales do or the large proportion of the Welsh population who come from England. I know many of them do learn Welsh and have respect for it, but some just see Wales as an extension of England and there are some problems that occur with that.’

The Policy Officer from the Welsh Language Commissioner tells me how important it is not to focus solely on English as the language of integration:

> ‘There’s an automatic equation being made between learning the language of the country and integration. We certainly believe that the Welsh language is absolutely essential to it and if you look at policy, it is being projected that ESOL is an essential tool for ensuring community cohesion that it is the English language, the implication of this would be that learning Welsh isn’t which would not be fair or correct […] the policy published recently, the Welsh language is important as well however there is not separate policy for ensuring this happens.’

Implications for this research

I had hoped to find examples of translanguaging in practice in Wales, but this was not the case. I found evidence of the need for a more tailored approach and recognition of the benefits of informal provision, particularly within the initial stages of language learning. All interviewees seemed positive about multilingual approaches; however further questions are raised about why translanguaging pedagogy used in schools doesn't transfer into the ESOL classroom. The interviews underpin the privileging of English, the commonly held belief of languages needing to be kept separate, the gap between policy and practice in Wales and the need for better coordination and cooperation between services.

The initial conversations in Wales contributed to the emerging foundation for the fieldwork in Scotland by raising the question of contextualisation and agency of place alongside the need to 'bring the outside in' (Roberts & Baynham, 2006), to make language learning representative of the local language ecology. This is never more real than the world outside the ESOL classroom in Newport where all the signs are in Welsh, yet the focus remains on English as a priority with Welsh often ignored.

These findings emphasised that in Wales, languages remain separate within language learning, there is little recognition of the idea of linguistic repertoire or of the benefits of multilingual learning in practice although all sector specialists agreed this could be beneficial. The conversations also showed a lack of understanding and practice of how to implement translanguaging pedagogy or incorporate learners' home languages within the context of teaching English/ Welsh to refugees.

BRC staff and my observations from the ESOL class clearly emphasised the need for language learning to be relevant and connected to local context, e.g. through content which reflects real world situations and by introducing phrases and place names in Welsh, although this appears to currently be quite limited. The need for an informal, gentle start to language learning was also emphasised.

The impact of physical ecology, the environment was also shown as an understood and accepted factor which affects attendance as learners in Newport as some people did not attend the ESOL class because of the heavy rain. These

factors are known and understood but perhaps could be brought into pedagogy which also allows for a more ecological approach.

Collaborative peer-led learning is already happening within the BRC through the AVAIL sessions. This does not currently extend to language learning, but the transferability of such approaches was clear to me and emphasised the appropriacy of the CPAR approach which I intended to implement for the fieldwork in Scotland. In the second half of this chapter I consider the findings from the fieldwork in Germany and how this further shaped the fieldwork in Scotland.

Germany

Introduction

Germany has 16 federal states which are governed by the central government in Berlin. This structure is similar to both Scotland and Wales within the UK as the central government holds responsibility for immigration law and the support services are organised at local level. In Germany, the model for language learning support for refugees is based on a 600-hour 'integration course', organised at national level by BAMF, the Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees), and delivered by a range of organisations within each federal state. As refugees have been dispersed all over Germany, these courses are widely available and in contrast to the lengthy waiting lists present in Scotland and Wales, they are quick to access for those who are eligible. I explore the integration course below as it forms the structure for how most language learning needs of refugees are met. In the following section I provide some context for refugee integration and Germany's response to the increased numbers of refugees it has received since 2015.

Germany's 2015/2016 response

Since the peak of the 'reception crisis' (Phipps, 2019a) Germany has accommodated more refugees than any other country in Europe with the total reaching 1.2 million (Der Spiegel, 2017). In Germany, refugees are resettled in areas where there is plenty of housing but low employment. In 2016 asylum applications were at the highest in Germany's history with more than 800,000

applications received that year. More than 1.4 million people have applied for asylum in Germany since 2014, this represents more than 43% of total applications to EU countries (Financial Times, 2017). For comparison, this is four times the number of Italy, six times that of France and nearly twelve times that of the UK (Financial Times, 2017). According to the OECD, refugees are expected to remain in Germany long term and Germany acknowledges this integration as a 'long-term project which is expected to take decades rather than years' (Der Spiegel, 2017).

The lines of my inquiry were:

- What can Scotland learn from Germany's model of language learning support?
- How does the support for language learning for refugees within the GRC compare with the work of the BRC in Scotland?
- Is a multilingual approach present within language learning support for refugees?

The discussion here is based on my interviews with 5 sector specialists and my visit to the German Red Cross language school in Frankfurt. The interviewees were:

1) Dorothee Hermanni, Integration Project Officer, Germany
2) Dr Sarah McMonagle, Research Associate, University of Hamburg
3) Staff representative at the GRC Headquarters in Berlin
4) Staff representative at the GRC in Birkenfeld
5) Natalie Tiranno, Manager of GRC Language School, Frankfurt am Main

Changing attitudes

The sector specialists told me how German goodwill for supporting refugees has changed since the initial response. Between 2015 and 2016, 15,000 community projects were launched across Germany to support refugees including language learning programs based on volunteer instruction, mentoring and social events, which gave learners more opportunities for informal, flexible support to learn German in addition to the government funded integration courses.

Staff at the GRC in Birkenfeld explain how initially there was a strong sense of empathy and willing to provide support for refugees:

> ‘The work that volunteers did was very different to what volunteers do now. In 2015 it was more like meeting the basic needs of the people who arrived in Germany like giving them food, shelter and clothes and keeping them warm. You didn’t really need to interact with them. Now we need volunteers to help the people who want to stay in Germany to integrate to help them learn more German and to know how to behave in certain situations to deal with bureaucracy. It’s a completely different kind of help and I think on one hand it’s more challenging for people and on the other hand I’ve got volunteers who feel they always have to justify themselves for helping the refugees because there has been a lot of bad press lately.’

Dorothee also confirms this initial support has changed:

> ‘This great enthusiasm of Germans who said, “we want to help the refugees” is no longer so much true, many people unfortunately are more in the right-wing side when it comes to talking about refugees.’

Dorothee also talks about how a more collaborative approach could signal a way forward:

> ‘Improvements would be that refugees are not perceived as refugees but that they are seen as ordinary people with potential as we all are. I think there is still a lot of work to be done, many people still haven’t had any contact with ‘the migrants’, ‘the refugees’ and there is more need for more initiatives to do something to show they are no longer refugees, they are just people from another country. I think this is still new for many people. I think Berlin is an exception, many cool initiatives are located here but in the rest of Germany in the smaller cities I’m not sure how liberal and interested they are.’

Family reunion presents additional challenges. Being reunited with family members is a difficult process as current German law restricts the total number of people permitted to come to Germany in this way to just 1,000 people per

month. This makes it very difficult for refugees to bring their family members to Germany, typically the process and bureaucracy can take a year to navigate.

Approximately one third of GRC branches provide a service to support refugees who are searching for their family members but there are no specific support services for reunited families once they are in Germany. As is currently the same in both Scotland and Wales, reunited families access German language learning provision in the same way as other migrants.

Language learning support for refugees in Germany

The integration course

The BAMF organised 'integration course' consists of a language course and an 'orientation course' which combined are typically 700 hours of contact time. The courses are aimed at learners who 'do not speak German well enough to make yourself understood in everyday life'. A fast-track version of the course consists of 430 lesson units.

The content of the language course is standardised by BAMF at national level and covers important aspects of everyday life including 'work and career, basic and further training, bringing up and raising children, shopping/trade/consumption, leisure time and social interaction, health and hygiene/human body, media and media use, and housing'(Das Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2018). It also includes learning to write letters and e-mails in German, complete forms, make telephone calls and apply for jobs and is assessed by the 'German language test for immigrants' (DTZ). Full-time and part-time courses are available, with most learners attending full-time and part-time courses available only in 'exceptional cases, for example if you are employed' (Das Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2018). Afternoon and evening courses are offered in these circumstances.

BAMF acknowledges 'people learn best when they are in groups with others who have similar interests and needs. This is also true for integration courses' (Das Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2018). Tailored integration courses are available including literacy courses, women's integration courses, parents'

integration courses and youth integration courses which help prepare young people for apprenticeships or higher education.

The sector specialists agreed that there are plenty of opportunities for learners to be able to access these official courses. A better model of funding which is organised at federal level removes the need for learners to have to wait for courses.

The orientation course

The ‘orientation course’ forms the last module of the integration course. It consists of 60 lesson hours (30 hours for the fast-track version) and is assessed by the ‘Life in Germany’ test. The course covers the German legal system, history and culture, rights and obligations in Germany, forms of community life, and Germany values, such as freedom of religion, tolerance and gender equality.

Learners who pass both tests receive the ‘Integration Course Certificate’ (Zertifikat Integrationskurs) which certifies that learners have gained an ‘adequate knowledge of German and important basic knowledge about German society’ (Das Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2018). The certificate entitles learners to apply for German citizenship after seven years of regular residence in Germany (normally, the requirement is eight years) and is also a benefit when seeking employment. In the following section I consider how the work of the German Red Cross language school in Frankfurt complements this provision.

Visit to German Red Cross Language School, Frankfurt am Main

Figure 3 - German Red Cross, Frankfurt am Main

To set up the fieldwork in Germany, I initially contacted the GRC headquarters in Berlin as it coordinates the work of the 19 GRC federal branches. I also spoke to staff at the GRC branch in Birkenfeld before staff in Berlin advised me to contact the federal branch in Frankfurt am Main as they felt that it had the best example of language learning support for refugees through the dedicated language school based at its branch in Galluswarte, in the west of the city. This is not typical of GRC branches and is the only one of its kind in Germany.

I interviewed Natalie, the Manager of the language school, in preparation for the visit to the school in March. Natalie explained that the classes they offer are not the integration course but rather Deutsch für den Beruf (German for work).

On the day of the visit, I attended 3 classes, all at B1 and B2 level. There was a strong grammar and accuracy focus in all of the classes with the goal of preparing for the 'B1 plus' test. The groups are mixed in terms of participants with asylum seekers, refugees, and PhD students all in the same groups, an issue that Natalie tells me is challenging due to learners' different academic backgrounds and previous experience.

The classes take place entirely in German, there is great atmosphere which feels so familiar to me, partly as it feels much like ESOL classes in Scotland and also because it feels much like the 'Deutsch als Fremdsprache' classes I attended as an Erasmus student here in Frankfurt over twenty years ago. The classes are warm, with a friendly, supportive environment and I am made to feel very welcome by the learners and the teachers too who are all interested to hear about Scotland and my research.

The facilities at the school are excellent, several large, bright airy classrooms are set around a central reception area. Natalie's office is to one side of this area and I notice a steady stream of learners knocking on her door to ask for support with a range of topics, much like the additional support provided alongside ESOL which is highlighted in my interviews in Wales and fundamental to ESOL in Scotland. The classes and the facility are about much more than language. This is a community, a support network, a place to go to ask your questions, a lifeline, and a chance towards other opportunities.

Inside the classrooms, the tables are all arranged in rows, facing the front with the exception of the B2 class which is arranged in a U-shape. I notice this as ESOL classes in Scotland are typically set up so that learners can interact more. In each class there is plenty of laughter and chatting between the teacher and learners and between the learners themselves.

During the first class, the teacher tells the learners 'we're a multilingual group; tell your classmates in your languages if they don't get it…' although this may not be an official strategy there is acknowledgement of learners' own languages, their place in the session and the support that learners are able to give each other in their own languages. Similarly, in the B2 class, there is confusion between the meaning of the word 'authentisch' and 'authentic' in English. An Australian learner asks the teacher who turns to me and asks me in German if 'authentic' can be used to describe restaurants in English to answer her query. I explain in German that it can. This referring back to the learner's first language quickly answers the question. The session content is grammar/accuracy focused with activities based around choosing the correct verb, article, preposition etc. which supports learners with German's complex grammar rules.

Natalie explains that the language school provides classes for over 100 people through 8 -9 classes per day and how this capacity has increased from 4-5 classes due to demand. The language school is based in Galluswarte which is a part of Frankfurt where many 'Gastarbeiter'[2], Turkish guest workers, were traditionally housed. There is a now a large refugee housing unit for 400 people in Galluswarte and the GRC language school is located in this area due to the proximity to this accommodation.

Natalie explains how the classes are not exclusively for refugees and that anyone who receives unemployment benefit can attend. This includes: 'French people, English people too they're all mixed and this makes it difficult because we have people who have a PhD and they are sitting next to a person who has come from Afghanistan who may not be literate and has just learnt to read and write'.

[2] Gastarbeiter' are migrant workers. The term refers particularly to those moved to West Germany between 1955 and 1973 as part of a formal guest worker programme.

The classes start at B1 level and focus on language needed for work and to prepare for the B1 'Deutsch für Zuwandere' test. The class content is very focused on achieving this goal with accuracy a priority and few opportunities to practise German in a less structured way.

The need for a flexible, tailored approach

Within the interviews there were some criticisms of the rigidity of the integration courses. Dorothee tells me:

> 'If you want to offer these language classes there are strict rules…. sometimes this is too strictly organised. There could be much more freedom because they do not look at what the people need, they just say 'ok in this period of time you have to do this'.

There is an expectation of the correlation between input and output rather than language learning being a non-linear process. Unsurprisingly all interviewees saw language learning as essential to integration. Staff at the GRC in Birkenfeld told me: 'if you can't speak the language you won't have any chance to become a functioning member of society'. Natalie was more specific about the level needed:

> 'You need B1 level to get integrated in the working process. If you're under B1 level you can't work at all. I also think it's very important because you have to speak to everyone not just Germans…..Germany didn't think about integrating people like the Gastarbeiter they didn't worry about integrating them because they thought they would just go and now you see what this was. It's really sad because I think integration doesn't mean assimilation it means both sides learn from each other in the same way.'

Natalie highlighted the opportunities for socialising and finding common ground which the language classes bring:

> 'In the beginning people don't speak to each other and after a certain time they get along and they become friends, and this helps with racism and sexism and a lot of things and it's very nice. It helps with

> integration. They are all in the same situation. They realise "you have a kid like me and you like to cook too."'

BAMF can also force learners to attend the integration course by threatening them with their unemployment benefit being cut if they do not attend regularly. Language schools are required to report back to BAMF on attendance which puts course providers in a difficult position as if they do not comply they risk losing their funding to deliver courses.

There is a clear need for a tailored approach which is partially addressed by the creation of specific integration courses detailed above. The participants told me that in Germany the majority of language classes are monolingual including those delivered by the GRC. Natalie tells me the reasons for this:

> 'In our classes it's only German because they have a higher level when they start. I worked with unaccompanied minors before and the lingua Franca after a while was Urdu. Other learners would tell them in Urdu and I knew a bit of Arabic and there were two children, one from Myanmar and one from Ghana and nobody spoke any Hausa and this was bad because on the one hand you're helping people and on the other hand you're excluding others so I started using paper and drawing things so then everybody could understand. In our classes for example B2 level, they speak only German and of course there are two or three people who speak the same language and they help each other, but we don't do it.'

These conversations also reflected the idea that a teacher must know the learners' languages well to be able to incorporate them in his/her teaching which echoes understandings of code-switching explored in Chapter two where the learners' language is used to scaffold learning e.g. by explaining grammar points. This question was immediately present in many of my interviews in Wales and also in informal conversation with colleagues in Scotland throughout the project. Natalie continues:

> 'I speak 6 languages, but I don't know Tigrinya or Farsi or Urdu so how can I? It doesn't work. I mean in our levels I don't see this is necessary and I think they have to be able to work in the target language, in

> German, if they don't they are in the wrong level. This other thing we are discussing with the translanguaging is how far can you go? And you can't have only teachers who speak Arabic, Tigrinya but of course it should help but it could also make them a little bit lazy. If I speak only German from the beginning, they learn quicker because they have to understand. They concentrate better. We use only the target language in foreign language classes so you can't always have the target language word and the Italian word right away you see the table and say 'table' in Italian. I don't know if it's more difficult to use other languages. Sometimes using just one you really learn quicker.'

There seemed to be an acceptance that learners higher than beginner level would benefit from monolingual classes. I explained further about the affective functions of incorporating learners' own languages as I hoped to do in my fieldwork in Scotland:

Sarah: I think for people who are new to the country it's also about recognising learners' own languages and how this can help with confidence and make people feel their own skills are valued.

Natalie: Yes, there you are right. You can say: 'how do you say 'hello' in your language?' I know only one word of Tamil and I told a woman in one class and she said, 'wow, you know my language!' I think when you talk about intercultural situations, it's more or less like this but learning or teaching grammar things they have to know. I think it doesn't really help.

In Chapters six, seven, eight and nine I return to how teachers can incorporate learners' own languages if they do not know them well and the impact this has on the balance of power in the classroom. My conversations in Germany showed a general lack of knowledge of the principles of translanguaging as an epistemology in its own right.

An ecological approach?

The sector specialists also felt that there was a need for more opportunities for people to practise German outside of class. Staff at the headquarters in Berlin told me:

> ‘I think we could improve the integration language classes because they take place in the morning from 9-1 and after that people go home to their families and don’t really have time or a place to interact with German people. The practice is basically going grocery shopping and they don’t have the opportunity to practise their German language skills then they just sit quietly in class. I think there should be something provided by the government to help them to practise the things they learnt.’

The focus on grammar and accuracy could also be seen as unhelpful when it comes to practising German in the real-life situations which form a more ecological perspective on language learning, staff at the GRC in Birkenfeld told me:

> ‘What they learn in school is very theoretical. When the refugees come to me, they all say “the grammar is so hard, I don’t know the articles” and I tell them that it’s not important because people will understand you anyway and not to worry about having the grammar right because if you focus on that you will always end up scared to speak actual German and I think they’re not really taught that. They’re taught they have to have the correct grammar and exactly the right word. They don’t know how to explain things in another way, they’re very strict I think. I would prefer it if they were taught different ways to communicate with people if they don’t have the correct vocabulary, just to take the fear from them and to have something where people can practise with actual German volunteers.’

The staff members at the GRC branch in Birkenfeld also told me about the flexible, volunteer led support in the more rural areas in Germany:

> ‘Now I have about 15 volunteers, because over time with the negative press people don’t want to work in integration things in their free time anymore but still, I work with refugees and the volunteers. We’ve got a meeting point for women which is once a week, we’ve got a language class on a voluntary basis which is once a week we’ve got a writing tutoring and some kind of partnerships for mentoring where citizens of the parish look after refugees and help them with

> everyday life - how to fill in forms, how to go to parents evening, stuff like that.'

Accuracy as a goal

The rigidity of the content of the integration courses is also called into question in terms of the appropriacy of some of the topics and how these needed to be quickly adapted as part of a more sensitive approach within the context of supporting refugees. Natalie tells me:

> 'We also have to differentiate between refugees and the normal integration class, now they understood since two years ago. When I was teaching young unaccompanied minors, I had a group and it was difficult to teach them as they were all traumatised. I couldn't use the book to talk to them about family because their whole family was dead. So, I had to invent new things to work with and then understood this and now the new books for refugees have different topics.'

Natalie explains how these courses now have the same grammar content but with more appropriate topics. There is also some evidence of these courses allowing scope to go outside the classroom and practise in real world situations:

> 'Normally, they ask the teacher to go outside for an excursion to let them experience not only the classroom but real life. So, what we did was go outside in the street and they had to ask people what time it was or how to get somewhere or their homework was going to the supermarket and asking for something or to write down how much butter costs and they started to understand why this is important to teach them. It's for you it's for your life and you have to get it.'

Integration from 'day one' and the need to recognise existing skills

Dorothee also highlighted the need for integration and support to being from 'a very early stage':

> 'Language learning is a key factor for integration, but it does not work well if you separate them and you say wait until B2 until they are "allowed" to be part of something "official" like a job. I would say the sooner they have the feeling they are welcome, and they are an

> equal part of a group the better. I also try to motivate people – go to a sport group, go to a cultural group and be part of something then the language of course will be much more successful.'

Dorothee highlighted the impact on the rigidity of the current system:

> 'The stress level is very high when people who want to start with vocational training. Especially for people from the Arabic world or Afghanistan or Iran - they are not used to learning for such a long time and they really have problems; and "now I'm 25 and I have to wait 6 months to repeat something and then I have to learn something for 3 years". It's very stressful for them and I would also advise that politicians really look at what the person has as professional experience. What does this person bring? Does he really need to start at zero level? This is also not good. There is movement in this, and people are discussing this. This is linked to the rigid thinking of local authorities especially in the field of school administration; they are super rigid and super inflexible and it's really a fight between people who work in the school and see the potential and say, "hey they can do things quicker, they are able to do it" and the authorities who say, 'no we don't want to lower our standards.'

Intergenerational learning

Although participants were positive about the idea of intergenerational learning, it was hard to find much evidence of provision where family members could learn together. In Birkenfeld there was some evidence of family members learning together in an informal setting:

> 'There is one family with the grandma, the mother and the daughter and you can see they are all coming to the meeting place together. The grandma can't speak any German - if you say something to her even in very simple words she doesn't understand, she needs someone to translate for her. The mother is intermediate level of German and the daughter, because she's had a couple of years in a German school, her German is very near native and they're helping each other but I think the grandma is not very willing to learn the language because

> she doesn't go out that often. She's Syrian and she's got a Syrian community in her neighbourhood so she can still communicate with other people, but it's restricted to Arabic speaking people. For the mum and the daughter, they are really keen and willing to practise and it's nice of them to take the grandma along as well so she can at least hear a bit of German when she is with us.'

The staff member told me that she felt that this support system of working with family members worked well:

> 'In this group it really works, they support each other, or they ask questions. Sometimes the granddaughter translates for the grandma, sometimes the mum helps. So, I think learning together for those three people works.'

Implications for this research

The fieldwork in Germany provided an interesting comparison with both the physical ecologies of Wales and Scotland and highlighted some of the strengths and weaknesses of the German integration courses, people's perception of these and the particular work of the German Red Cross Language School in Frankfurt am Main.

At structural level, Scotland can learn from the faster access which is provided through the BAMF organised integration courses although the interviews clearly highlight frustrations regarding the rigidity of course content and the need for more specialised courses. There are also frustrations regarding the focus on accuracy which takes a long time to achieve given the complexity of German grammar and the need for refugees to quickly be able to communicate and feel part of society from an early stage without feeling that they need to speak perfect German. This focus appears to hinder learners' willingness to 'language' in their communities without the fear of using incorrect grammar.

Conclusions: Shaping the fieldwork in Scotland

The findings in Wales highlighted the dominance of English within the bilingual context, the position of English within linguistic hierarchies and how firmly embedded the idea of language separation is within ESOL contexts. In contrast,

the findings in Germany emphasised the benefits of being able to quickly access extensive (600 hours) language classes within the existing German model of integration courses, some of which allow capacity for taking the learning outside the classroom to work on everyday communication through real-world tasks.

In both contexts there was a lack of knowledge of the epistemological difference between translanguaging and code-switching when discussing multilingual approaches. There is a belief that it is only possible to teach multilingually if the teacher knows all of the learners' languages. This highlighted the need to explore the fieldwork in Scotland from a position of 'linguistic incompetence' by committing to an openness to other languages and working from the translanguaging stance which I explore in full in Chapter eight. The pilot study was shaped by the themes outlined in this chapter combined with discussions with BRC staff in Glasgow, visits to BRC ESOL classes in Glasgow and the foundation of the policy context and academic literature explored in Chapters one and two. In the following chapter, I explore the pilot study as an introduction to the fieldwork in Scotland.

Part Two: Scotland

Chapter Five: The pilot study

ஒரு மொழியை கற்றுக்கொள்வது கடின உழைப்பு

یادگیری زبان کار سختی است

ቋንቋ ምምሃር ብጣዕሚ ደልዲሉ ምስራሕ እዩ

(Learning a language is hard work)

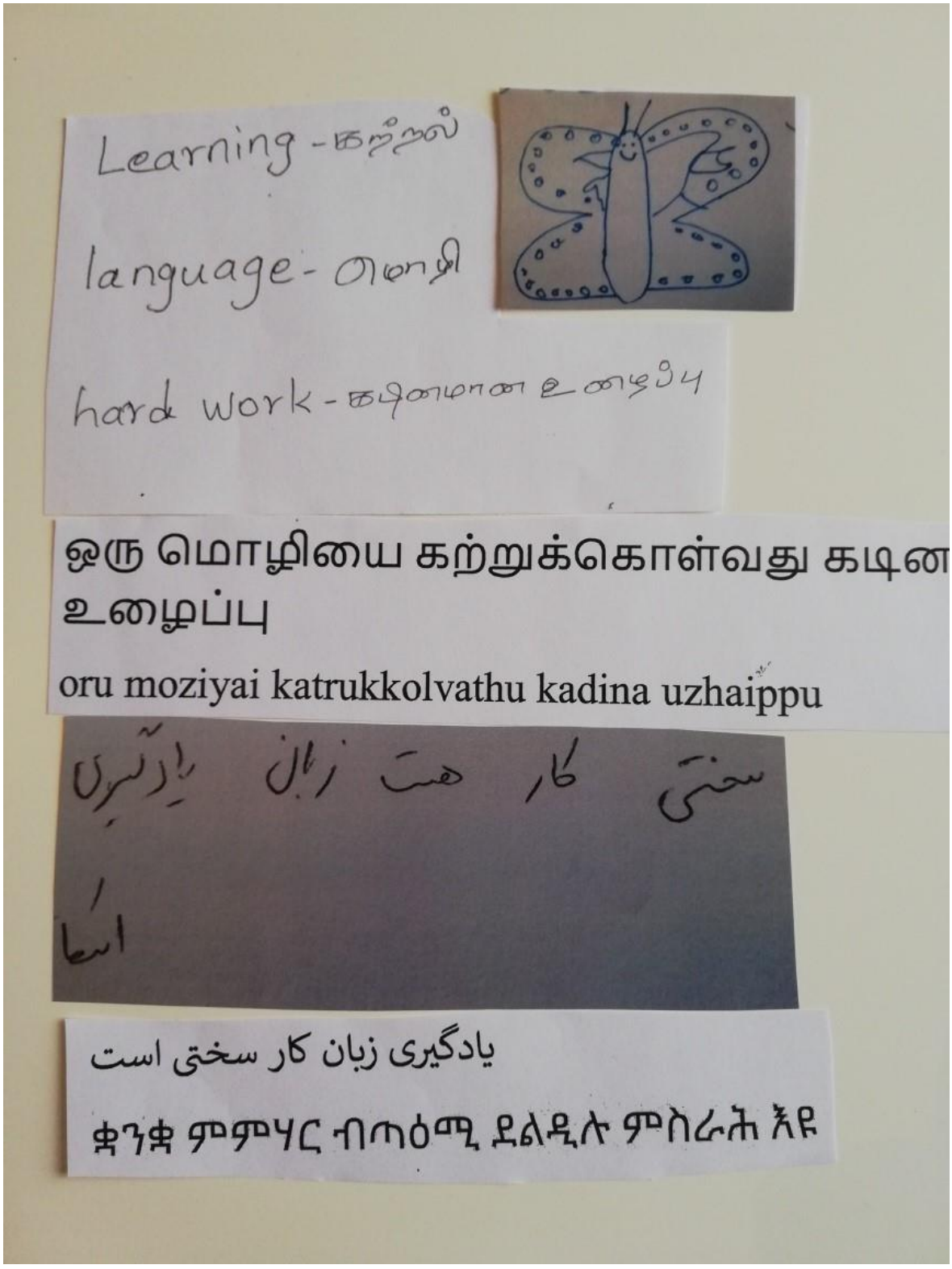


Figure 4 - Piecing together the Spring School poem

Introduction

In this chapter, I introduce the pilot study within the wider context of the fieldwork in Glasgow. I discuss the content of the four learning sessions which formed the pilot and how this initial stage fed into the CPAR spiral by exploring

how the participants and I began to establish our working relationship and evaluate our ways of working before moving into the main study. I begin with an overview of each of the learning sessions before discussing the key themes which emerged and their impact on shaping the main study.

Setting up the pilot project: Getting to 'day one'

The BRC had several new clients who had arrived through family reunion in the weeks before I was due to start the pilot. The BRC staff told me their new clients were keen to have something to attend within their first few weeks to help them to settle in and we discussed the importance of being able to access support quickly within these vital first few weeks. We agreed that the learning sessions would work best for mothers with children of primary school age as this age group would be able to actively engage and work with the adults in the activities. We also agreed that women with children of this age were more at risk of isolation than women with children of pre-school age who are able to attend local community ESOL classes with crèche facilities.

During discussions with the BRC we also agreed that we would invite people with elementary level English if possible, with the aim that the participants would already know a little bit of English and that would enable them to get the most out of the study. We agreed not to be too restrictive about this as we wanted to form a group with similar needs who would be able to work well together. As participants had only just arrived, I knew they would not have had an English language level assessment in Glasgow so it could be difficult to know their level of English. I wanted to avoid a very mixed level group as this would make it more difficult to accommodate everyone's needs within the limited timeframe, particularly given the additional intergenerational aspect to the work. I also did not want to turn away anyone who wanted to be part of the project and asked the BRC to keep me updated on responses when they contacted potential participants so I could adapt plans if necessary.

I had initially hoped to deliver the sessions at the BRC offices in the centre of Glasgow as this was an already familiar place for participants and I wanted to make the sessions as accessible as possible. This would have removed the need for an additional journey and the associated costs of this for participants.

However, due to the demand for meeting room space at the BRC offices it was not possible for us to use a room there. Instead, we decided to hold the sessions at the School of Education at the University. This is only about a mile from the BRC offices; however, it is a bit too far to walk, particularly with young children so this would mean an additional bus journey for participants. It would also mean that participants would need to enter a large, unknown building with several different wings and locate the room for each session. The BRC offered the support of travel tokens to cover the bus fare for the participants and also suggested that interpreters attend for the second hour of the first session so I could explain the aims of the research and have a full discussion with each participant to allow them to decide whether they wanted to take part.

I was keen for the sessions to feel as welcoming and informal as possible. Staff at the University suggested the children's literature library might work well as an informal space for the sessions. Although the space is quite small and narrow, it had the benefit of having low tables and children's books which I thought could work well for activities with younger children. It is brightly lit and colourful with comfortable chairs and felt less formal than a classroom, it also had the additional benefit of being available at the same time each week. Had we not used the children's literature library we would have needed to change rooms each week due to how busy the School of Education is, and I was concerned this would cause additional confusion and put the participants off. I decided to hold the information session in the children's literature library and to ask the participants what they preferred once I knew the size and the makeup of the group.

Figure 5 - All set. The children's literature library on our first day

I had very little information about the participants before the pilot project. I liaised with the BRC staff about session times and which days might be best and they contacted potential participants with the help of their telephone interpreting service to invite people to the sessions based on the criteria we had agreed. Two days before the first meeting the BRC were able to confirm a few key details which helped me to plan the first session and confirm that the pilot could go ahead as enough people had shown an interest.

Day one

The BRC provided a list of names of people who had said they would come. I knew the families on the list were Arabic, Tamil, Tigrinya and Farsi speakers. I knew the ages of their children and that they had all very recently arrived in Glasgow. I did not know how much English they knew or how much education they had been able to access prior to coming to Scotland. For our first meeting I planned to introduce the research and break the ice through a few introductory activities to illustrate the nature of the sessions in the hope of fostering the participants' 'investment' (Norton, 2013) outlined in Chapter two. I wanted to find out what the participants wanted and needed from the sessions so that I could make the sessions as tailored and collaborative as possible and to give

them a shared sense of ownership of the project right from the beginning. This meant I could not plan the sessions before we all met, before I knew what they wanted to learn, their level of English, which languages they spoke, the ages of their children and their interests. I did not know what the language ecology of our group would be and how we could work together best until our first meeting.

There were many unknowable factors at this stage, and this also meant that I could not be sure of exactly what my own role would be. I drew on Butler's (2005) 'account of oneself' knowing that this account can only ever be given in relation to others. My account of myself, who I would be within this research, and how the participants and I would relate to each other could not be known until we were together in the room as I did not know what they would need from me and how best we could work together.

I also did not know the size of the group or the ratio of adults to children. I had agreed with the BRC that the sessions could accommodate up to 8 families. Would it feel more like an adult focused group? Or a children's group? Or more equally balanced? I was committed to working with whichever families wanted to attend. This openness was necessary, and it meant I entered the first session with many unknown factors. If I had started to plan the sessions before I met the participants, this would have created an artificialness rather than fostering the organic and participatory nature of the project which is central to CPAR. Planning the sessions in advance would also have undermined the decolonising methodology described in Chapter three and the principles of translanguaging outlined in Chapter two. To share power and to collaborate meant leaving the process of deciding the content to those who knew what they needed best: the participants.

Leaving the planning took some confidence and trust in the process and my chosen methodology. My supervisors asked me what I intended to cover in the sessions and whether I had begun to create materials. During the planning stages I had many initial ideas about activities I felt could work well with a multilingual, intergenerational group, partly informed by my visits to the elementary/pre-intermediate level BRC ESOL groups I visited the previous summer. My initial ideas included the use of picture books or origami craft activities or the use of disposable cameras to create photo stories of places in

Glasgow and participants' lives to connect to the ideas of context embedded within an ecological approach - activities which I feel would have worked well with the participants I met at the BRC ESOL classes. It took time to liaise with the BRC and set up the pilot sessions with confirmation of the go ahead just two days before the first session. Within the first 30 seconds of meeting the participants I knew that none of the ideas I had had would be suitable. My fieldnotes below detail our first meeting:

Session One

Monday February 4th, 3pm

It's a cold wet afternoon as I trudge down Sauchiehall Street towards the Red Cross office on Cambridge Street in the city centre. Backpack on my back, full of possible activities and ideas for our first session. It's the kind of Glaswegian winter day that feels like it doesn't really get light at all. There is a constant drizzle and dampness in the air. I'm eager to meet the participants and to see who will turn up today from the list of clients that the BRC staff have told me have expressed an interest in the project.

I have already been to the University to set up the room for our meeting today. I have arranged the tables and chairs, put out snacks, cups and juice to welcome the participants when they arrive. Paper and pens, a portable whiteboard, an inflatable globe, a ball. A plastic tub of activities that I can draw on depending on what I think might work best - paper, coloured pencils, stickers, sticky notes, marker pens and a box of flashcards.

I ring the bell and go up to the third floor to the BRC offices. I meet with the staff member who has contacted the potential participants about the session, and we update each other on who has arrived and who has called to say they can't come. I collect the bus tokens that the BRC have offered to provide to cover the travel expenses for the participants. The BRC staff give me an updated list of participants, the names of children, their ages and the languages they speak. The list has six families' names on it.

I enter the waiting room. It's very busy. I have been here several times before and it is always busy with people who need the support of the BRC staff here.

Ten people look up at me. I smile and say slowly: 'Hello, I'm Sarah. Are you here for the English classes?'

Ten blank faces still watching me. No-one responds. I try my limited Arabic: 'Marhaba. Ana esmy Sarah'. One person looks up. One Arabic speaker perhaps? I try the list of names to check who is in my group as I think some people are waiting for other support services. We manage to identify 3 families from the list through my best attempts at pronouncing their names. There is confusion between the spelling of names on my sheet and how the participants pronounce their names. Some of the names are similar to others. There is a lot of confusion. It isn't clear who is the mother in one of the family groups, they look so close in age and it isn't initially clear who is with whom. Two of the husbands have accompanied their wives and children. One of the husbands tells me he will bring his son to the University later to meet us. I give him the building and room number we are going to along with my phone number so he can find us.

It is awkward and clumsy. One of the participants sits alone in the corner of the room. She does not make eye contact with me or with anyone else. Instead she stares blankly out of the window at the cold, grey afternoon. She lifts her eyes briefly to mine as I try to check her name, she nods in recognition but does not smile. Does she want to be here? I hope she doesn't feel that she has to come. I don't want anyone to feel they have to come with me if they don't want to. I cannot ask her more than 'are you ok?' She doesn't know me, and we don't have enough shared language to be able to know if something is wrong. I smile gently at her in an effort to provide reassurance and hope she will relax more as the afternoon goes on. The interpreter will meet us in an hour so I hope to find out more if she can bear with me for the first hour.

I show the map to the University which the BRC have provided and give everyone their own copy. My name and phone number are on the sheet. I explain we are going to the University together and ask if that's ok. No one responds but everyone follows me to the door and down the steps back out into the cold grey afternoon.

This is where our story begins. In this waiting room, this street, walking to the bus stop, pulling our coats up around us, trying to shelter from the cold

Glaswegian rain. There is confusion and uncertainty and there is also risk and trust. They are trusting me by making eye contact and following me to the bus stop not really knowing who I am or what will follow.

Our walk is quiet with an air of anticipation and shyness. I chat not knowing how much they can understand. I need Tamil, Tigrinya and Arabic. The other Arabic speakers on the list have not turned up and I quickly realise no one shares a language outside their family group.

I tell them the number of the bus and use my fingers to show '4', 'Arbaa?' *I attempt to say the number in Arabic. I feel lacking that I cannot do the same in Tigrinya and Tamil so check on my phone for the equivalent word for 'four'. It seems appreciated.*

The bus comes.

(Fieldnotes, February 4th, 2019)

I knew instantly from this first meeting that the participants would need high levels of support. We would start at the very beginning as even basic greetings and saying their name in English were new. As we travelled to the University, I began to mentally adjust the activities that we could do in this first session now that I knew the number of participants, how new they were to Scotland and the languages they spoke.

The first few minutes in the BRC told me many things that would shape the project.

- No-one shared a language outside the family group. This would have implications for the relationships participants built with each other. It would also mean they could not support each other in their own languages with translanguaging activities as I had hoped. I would need to find another way to facilitate multilingual learning. Translanguaging within the family groups would still be possible.
- They were all at the absolute beginning of learning English. We would need to start at the beginning and take our time.
- All participants had been in Glasgow less than two weeks, this gave us common ground as a starting point.

- I needed to be able to support them in Tigrinya, Tamil and Arabic, particularly with the language needed to explain the activities. It was Monday and I would need to know some of this before Thursday, our second session.

I noticed how nervous and uncomfortable the women and children looked, particularly Semira who sat in the corner of the room alone, not making eye contact with anyone. When I smiled at her and checked her name, she nodded but looked away and I wondered if she really wanted to be there or to come to the sessions at all. I tried to check this with her but with such limited shared language this was still unclear. None of the group could speak more than a few words of English and outside each family group the participants did not share a language which limited their interaction with each other and meant they could not support each other with this initial stage. This was difficult as I wanted everyone to feel comfortable and supported from the very beginning and I hoped that the project would be a positive experience for them, enabling them to connect and make friends. This was important as the project also served as the first contact the participants had had with any service or activities in Scotland.

The first session focused on the practicalities of getting from the BRC office in central Glasgow to the University. This also served the purpose of introducing participants to bus numbers, the location of the bus stops and how to use the travel tokens provided by the BRC. It situated the learning firmly within the context of Glasgow and within the context of integration from 'day one'. I was aware that this trip required a lot of knowledge that was new to each of the participants; the location of the bus stop, which bus to take, what kind of ticket to ask for, where to get off. None of the participants had any of the English or local knowledge to be able to do this. The burden of needing to ask for a ticket was eased by the use of the travel tokens which could simply be put into a slot at the front of the bus. This also meant participants did not need to explain the ages of the children to work out which tickets were needed.

We arrived at the School of Education and I stopped to draw everyone's attention to the multilingual 'welcome' sign at the entrance to identify all the languages we knew, taking time to try to pronounce each other's. I wanted to give everyone a sense of the University being a place where all languages were welcome as a starting point for our project. I also wanted to establish who could

read in their own language before we reached the classroom. Participants were all able to point to their own language and tell the group which language they spoke and how to say ‘welcome’ in their language. I pointed to the English word at the end of this activity and said ‘welcome’, some of the participants repeated the word in English.

Figure 6 - Multilingual 'Welcome' sign, School of Education entrance

I led everyone up to the children’s literature library and keyed in the code to open the door. Everyone seemed relieved to have arrived and I offered snacks and drinks and suggested we take a 5-minute break to settle in. By this time, it was almost 4.15pm, almost half of our session was over. We tried a few introductory activities standing in a circle to throw an inflatable globe to each other to practise simple greetings in English and in Tamil, Tigrinya and Arabic and then asked, ‘what’s your name? where are you from?’ The globe proved a useful tool for participants to show each other their country and then throw it on to the next person to ask, ‘which language do you speak?’ Everyone started to relax and smile, it was a good icebreaker and worked well to include the different aged participants. These activities also allowed me to get a sense of how much English the participants knew. Even these basics were new to the adults.

The BRC had arranged for interpreters to come along for the last hour of the first session to enable me to explain the research aims and to gain informed consent. The BRC staff explained that this is usually necessary and that they are used to having this support for their clients at first meetings, in contrast to the way that ESOL practitioners are used to working where solely English is used. Having interpreters gave participants the chance to ask questions in their own languages. As detailed in Chapter three, I had prepared the 'Participant Information Sheet' (Appendix C) in simple language so that it could easily be explained and spoken by an interpreter. This was essential as the participants would not have been able to read this for themselves in English at this stage or to assist each other and the interpreters needed a simple, clear explanation of the research to use as a basis for our discussion.

The interpreters arrived after these introductory activities and I explained the research aims, the plain language form and consent. I would have liked to have had longer before getting to this stage but as the interpreters were only able to attend the second hour of this initial session, I needed to explain the project so the participants understood the research before coming to the next session.

I emphasised that there was no obligation to decide in this first session if they wanted to be part of the project and explained that they could think about it and let me know another day. Everyone was surprisingly enthusiastic, and they all agreed that they would like to take part. The interpreters supported this process by relaying the participants questions to me, each working one to one with an interpreter. I felt that there was a shared sense of needing support as they were all so new to Scotland and all faced similar challenges. I emphasised the importance of their role in the research and that we would be trying out a different way of learning together and that we would work collaboratively to do this. My fieldnotes below give a glimpse into this process:

At 4.45pm Rushani's husband arrives with their son. I appreciate the effort this takes to bring his wife and daughter to the BRC at 3.30pm then to collect his son and bring him to University too. I know this has taken most of his afternoon. He shakes my hand warmly. With the children, the interpreter and Rushani's husband and son there are now thirteen of us in the small room. There is a warm sense of coming together with the children eating all the snacks while I

work with the parents and interpreters to work out the details of the shared project. The parents break off in different languages to tell the children off for eating too much.

There is a sense of embarking on something important at this first session. We discuss what times are best to meet and how difficult they're finding it to get around. I find out that they all like Glasgow. I feel a shared sense of relief amongst the group as they all share how hard the last few weeks have been for them. They can tell the interpreter, in this room, with the comfort of their children here, in their own languages that this is not easy. The interpreter is listening intently and so am I. We are nodding in understanding as it emerges how recently they have all arrived. This is 'audibility'. Being listened to, being acknowledged. Feeling that you matter and that the fact this is hard matters. I explain we will work together in these sessions and ask, 'what can we do together to help you?' The bus, getting to know Glasgow.

We laugh about the weather as the rain hammers down hard on the window and it is now completely dark outside. As we throw the globe around, I tell them I'm from England, that I found it difficult when I came here too. The interpreters translate my words and they all look at me with a bit of recognition and nod.

Deciding the content of the learning sessions

At this first session we discussed how the project could best support the participants' needs. When I asked 'these sessions are to support you. What would you like to cover?', the room erupted into vibrant conversation, each participant speaking to their interpreter with everyone talking at once, giving their opinion on what they needed and all wanting to tell me at the same time. As everyone had arrived in Glasgow so recently there was a sense of relief that everyone was struggling with similar issues.

The participants chose to focus on getting the bus, buying tickets, food, everyday communication, greetings, numbers. This was a lively part of the session with a lot of nodding, laughing, and smiling and chatter in all of the languages present. At the end of the session, we were able to put this request into direct action – we left the room together and went outside to wait at the

bus stop together in the dark. I showed them the bus timetable, checked the bus number and gave out the travel tokens and waited in the cold with them. I took a photo of the bus number and timetable to use in our next session. When the bus came, I got on the bus with them, I showed them where to put the token, I thanked them for coming and I stepped off the bus and waved them goodbye. They waved through the bus window and I went back inside to tidy up the room. There is solidarity in this immediate action of being physically next to someone, to show them how to do this rather than explaining it at a distance in a classroom. In doing this I could see immediately what the issues were and this allowed me to better support them. They could also see that I was 'in' this project alongside them. I was going to step outside with them, stand next to them in the freezing February evening. I was not a distant teacher figure standing at the front of the class at a whiteboard with a pen. It also meant that the issue of the bus became less daunting, something which we had already begin to work together to overcome. We were not going to let this remain a barrier longer than it needed to. We were on our way.

In this first session we agreed some practicalities. Which days were best? Where did they live? How could they get here? What time worked best? How could we fit our meetings around school? Should we use a different room? What was the best way to keep in touch? I also checked phone numbers and we agreed to contact each other by text message as and when necessary. I agreed that I would text participants ahead of each session to keep in touch and to remind them of our meeting, in return I asked them to let me know if they were unable to make it. This initiated a relationship of mutual respect, which is key to a co-learning relationship, as noted in García and Wei (2014b). I discuss this foundation of mutual respect and how we embedded this in our collaboration in full in Chapter seven.

I came out of the first session with my head swimming with ideas for content for the next few sessions. We would meet again on Thursday, in 3 days' time. I was very aware of the stage we were starting at and how much support they would need to get to the sessions. Would they come next time? We agreed via the interpreters that they could find their own way to the class next time. I felt a significant sense of responsibility for their wellbeing and that these sessions

should be an enjoyable, positive experience to build confidence in their own skills.

Participant profiles

Three women and their children took part in the pilot study:

Semira

Semira is from Eritrea and speaks Tigrinya. She has a ten-year-old daughter. They were separated from Semira's husband for 5 years before reuniting in Glasgow two weeks before the pilot. Semira attended Primary School in Eritrea for 3 years then stopped due to the war.

Rushani

Rushani is a Tamil speaker from Sri Lanka. She is here with her husband, her daughter and son aged 17 and 10 who also attend the sessions. Rushani finished secondary school in Sri Lanka and learnt English as a foreign language for a few years at school. Their family was separated for several years and reunited last month in Glasgow. Lakmini is Rushani's 17-year old daughter.

Kamila

Kamila is from Sudan. She arrived in Glasgow two weeks before the project started. She speaks Arabic and attends learning sessions with her two sons aged 10 and 12. They were separated from her husband for several years before coming to Glasgow.

Session Two: 'Ciao ciao'

We agreed at the first session that the children's literature library was not a suitable room for our learning sessions (it turned out to be quite cold at that time of day, dimly lit, as the daylight faded and the narrowness made it difficult for us to move around and work together actively). The children in the group were also older than I expected (aged 10 – 17) so my idea of using the low tables for activities for younger children was not necessary. We agreed I would find a better alternative for our next meeting and agreed to meet at the children's literature library, so I could show them to the new room.

Staff at the School of Education found a science lab that was available each week at the same time. The room was large and bright with a good view into Kelvingrove Park. It had the additional benefit of having a sink which was useful for us to wash fruit (this was decided as the preferred snack along with biscuits) and fill the kettle which I brought to each session. The new room also had the advantage of having a computer and a smart screen which proved to be a useful resource for using online dictionaries to show words in Tamil, Tigrinya and Arabic and to show images to help us understand each other.

On the day of the second session, I received several phone calls from the BRC staff as some of the participants had called to say that were worried about traveling to the University by themselves and asking for someone to accompany them. I offered to meet participants at the BRC offices again but knew this could cause more confusion as some participants would come straight to the University and I would not be there to meet them. An hour before the session was due to start, the BRC called to let me know they had managed to find a volunteer who could accompany some of the learners while I met the others at the University.

We had agreed that the sessions would run from 4pm-6pm. At 4.30pm Kamila and Rushani arrived with the BRC volunteer but without their children. We moved to the teaching room and I boiled the kettle to make coffee which was welcome as it was another cold day. Semira arrived twenty minutes later, I had left a note on the library door with my name and phone number and the new room number in an effort to help her if she turned up late. I was not sure how else I could point her in the right direction if I was not physically there to show her.

Fortunately, another member of staff helped Semira to find us in the new room when she arrived a bit later on. Semira had not brought her daughter so I knew from the start of the session that the intergenerational activities I had planned would not be suitable! For this session we now had a much bigger room for a much smaller group of only adults. I adapted all the activities to suit the participants who were present but could not include anything intergenerational as none of the children were there. The three participants who attended all speak different languages so were not able to support each other with translanguaging.

The first stage of this learning process was navigating the journey to the sessions and we celebrated this success. After everyone had arrived, we focused on giving personal information: the basics of saying your name, where you are from, which languages you speak, addresses and numbers (to help with the use of the bus), tying everything back into the participants' own languages. Having only adults gave us scope to focus on their specific needs for this session.

I gave everyone a choice of how they wanted to travel to the second session rather than assume that they need my help as I wanted to strike the right balance between giving people support when they need it and ensuring people feel welcomed but also not creating dependency. At the end of the session, I gave out the travel tokens again and went to the bus stop with the participants. As we had worked on numbers in class and rehearsed the number of bus we were waiting for, I was pleased that they could all tell me which number bus they needed to take back into town. Rather than waiting with them for the bus, I checked the time, checked they were happy to wait together and left them to wait without me. This was a small step to take the learning outside of the classroom and build the participants' confidence in their own abilities from the start. I went back inside the building and watched through the window, where they could not see me, but I had the peace of mind that they had got on the right bus together.

This session was hard work. I had prepared flashcards in advance with some key phrases in their languages to help us along. When I showed them to Semira, Rushani and Kamila their faces lit up and I told them the equivalent phrase in English.

The absence of the children and the interpreters made the session seem so much quieter. The absence of their presence stripped back our group to show just how very little shared verbal language we had. It was hard to navigate with the very few words we shared and we needed to constantly go back and forth between Tamil, Arabic, Tigrinya and English. In addition to finding a foundation for how to communicate we were also trying to figure out how to work multilingually from this starting point and how to translanguage with these dynamics. I felt uncertain in this session. I hadn't done this before. By the end of the session, I had used every Arabic word I knew but that still left me lacking in Tigrinya and

Tamil. As I finished the session, I wondered whether they had enjoyed it. My fieldnotes below pick up at the point of ending the second session.

As we finish the session, I open the door for Semira, Rushani and Kamila. I smile and thank them for coming, trying to remember the word for goodbye in Tamil, Arabic and Tigrinya. Semira is last to leave. I offer her the grapes and biscuits that are left, and she picks them up and thanks me. As she reaches the door, I put my hand up to gesture 'bye', she reaches out, presses her palm to mine and shakes her head, looks directly into my eyes, (I notice for the first time that we are the same height and close up that she might be closer to my age than I first thought). She pauses and corrects me with a smile and tells me in Tigrinya: 'ciao ciao'. I hold the eye contact, smile straight back and respond with her palm still pressed against mine 'ciao ciao' I tell her. We will do this in Tigrinya from now on.

Session Three: Another dynamic

Four participants attended today: Rushani and her two children and Semira, which created a different dynamic again. We started with a multilingual board race board to review words from last time for giving personal information: name, surname/last name, postcode, telephone number, address. Being active in this way worked well and everyone seemed engaged. They seemed to enjoy the competitive element particularly with Rushani racing against her own children. We worked slowly and reviewed all the key vocabulary in Tamil and Tigrinya as we went along.

For the next part of the session, we focused on free time activities with the aim of establishing what the participants might be interested in seeing/visiting in Glasgow whilst covering vocabulary for activities such as cooking, relaxing at home, visiting museums, playing sport, going to the park (we moved over to the window at this point to see Kelvingrove Park) again giving the name for all of these activities in both Tamil and Tigrinya. We then personalised this by working in pairs, asking 'what do you like doing?' Most of this everyday language was new so we worked at a slow pace, moving back and forth between English and their languages.

Both of the younger participants managed this more quickly and easily than the adults, so they worked together so the adults could work at the same pace, then we swapped pairs once everyone had practised. I noticed that when we worked as a whole group, Rushani seemed less confident and I could see her copying her son's work. She seemed less confident in this session than she had in the previous one when her children were not there. I wondered if this was because she was aware that they seemed to already know some of the vocabulary when this was new to her and I wondered whether she found the support of her children helpful or whether it held her back from working out the answers herself. The classroom dynamic in this session was interesting as three learners shared a language and Semira was the only Tigrinya speaker which significantly limited communication between the group as a whole. I tried to mitigate this by splitting into pairs and working with Semira one to one using Tigrinya and English.

After we had introduced some of the language to talk about activities, I linked this to places in Glasgow using images of Kelvingrove, Kelvin Hall, the Hunterian, the People's Palace. Rushani's children seemed very interested in this and we talked about places we could go as a group. No-one recognised any of the places I showed them, including George Square which made me wonder how much they have actually been out in Glasgow. I tried to link this into the map to show how close we are to some of the places they are interested in. We agreed to go to the Hunterian Museum in one of the sessions with the aim of feeling more connected to the University and the local area and to connect the learning to the outside world in keeping with the ecological approach.

This session made me work harder to engage the different age groups and to make sure that Semira felt involved and comfortable with the three other participants who were from the same family. It was also important to make sure that the parents were not left behind as many of the English words were new to them and it took time to practise. Working multilingually helped the three people who shared a language to support each other. Semira and I worked together, using the online dictionary to check that we had the right word, and this worked reasonably well. The games and being active seemed to be the most successful part of the session and I decided to include activities that get people up and moving round in subsequent sessions.

Session Four: ዕፉን ይፈቱ (I like sweetcorn)

I arrived at the room at 3.20pm and started to set up, eager to see who would turn up today. This always took a little bit of time as I needed to move the tables, set up snacks/drinks and materials and to make sure the room was warm.

I planned to start the session by putting an expression up on the screen in Tamil or Tigrinya as a starting point. I try to choose something interesting that will get the participants' attention as soon as they come in. Increasing this visibility of other languages contributes to the principles of translanguaging laid out in Chapter three and also contributes to a stronger multilingual identity (García-Mateus & Palmer, 2017).

At 3.30pm Semira arrives, she slowly opens the door and looks into the room to find me arranging tables and chairs. She smiles widely and greets me confidently in Tigrinya: 'Selam Sarah!' I look up to greet her also in the same way 'Selam Semira!' Semira continues to coach me in Tigrinya as we set up the room together, boil the kettle, put out snacks, learning the words for each item in each other's language as we go along. Her increased confidence is significant to me as I know she has had the fewest opportunities to attend formal education and the least English in the group. I notice the contrast between how confident she is today and how she had appeared at our first meeting when she sat quietly in the corner of the BRC waiting room.

(Fieldnotes, session 4)

At 3.58pm my phone rang with Rushani's husband telling me his family were going to be an hour late due to an appointment. Initially I was concerned that Semira would be uncomfortable working one to one for the first hour. I explained this to her, and she said this was ok for her and we got started with reviewing vocabulary from our last session.

We started by reviewing giving your name, country and language and asking each other these questions. We took time to translate each of the words into Tigrinya at Semira's own pace, making notes as we went along. As it was just the two of us, we were able to slow the pace to map everything between just English and Tigrinya and this allowed us to get to know each other better.

Semira had told me at the previous session that she liked cooking, so I had planned activities based on food. I explained this and showed Semira food flashcards. Her face lit up. I felt that this was a topic of genuine interest for her and we spent time going through each item and giving both the English and Tigrinya word. It was a simple activity but felt like a genuine multilingual exchange. We sorted the cards into things we like and don't like. Facial expressions were important to this process and Semira seemed to enjoy miming eating corn (her favourite food) which made me laugh. I began to make sense of some of the characters in Tigrinya and the corresponding sound within the food items we were working on. Semira reached over and wrote my name in Tigrinya on my notepad.

Part way through the session Semira removed her headscarf and I noticed how relaxed she seemed, laughing as we mimed and drew different images to communicate. It was important to take plenty of time to learn and practise all the new words and working through this also in Tigrinya created a more level playing field as I relied on Semira to tell me how to pronounce each word in her language.

Working only with Semira gave me time to focus on how translanguaging can work with just one learner and one language at a time. I saw these interactions as going far beyond code-switching as they underpinned the capacity of translanguaging for transformation. Our ways of communicating drew on the broader epistemological base of translanguaging, the openness towards other languages and the fluidity of moving back and forth between languages as part of a linguistic repertoire.

When the other participants arrived, Semira put her headscarf back on and we continued working on the same topic together as a group. We made a note of vocabulary in all the languages present, sorting pictures into piles of 'I like' and 'I don't like'. Semira was able to tell Rushani and Lakimini some of these new English words when they arrived, and I was glad to see this confidence in her. When Semira left, she said goodbye to me in Tigrinya again and she looked so much happier, relaxed and more confident than she had done on the first day in the BRC waiting room.

Learning from the pilot

In this section I draw together the key themes which emerged from the pilot and discuss the learning that we carried from this initial stage into the main study that followed. Key themes began to emerge as early as the first session, these crystallized through the process of working closely together and analysing my own observations, fieldnotes and the data generated from the group interview at the end of the pilot which I draw into the discussion and analysis in the following three discussion chapters.

Relationships

The relationships within the project were grounded from the foundation that participants were all roughly at the same stage of learning English (beginners, all able to read and write and knew the Roman alphabet). This created a symmetry in terms of my own role, I was also complete beginner of Tigrinya and Tamil, I knew some basic Arabic, but this would only help me communicate with Kamila.

In addition, the participants all shared a real newness to Glasgow, having been here between two weeks and one month, they were facing similar challenges in terms of finding their way around the city. This sense of shared common ground helped to build a sense of community, teamwork and meant they could understand each other's situation and help each other.

The small number of participants, the nature of our work and the fact that no - one shared a language outside the family group meant that I worked closely with each of the participants to establish our ways of learning together from day one. Semira, Kamila and Rushani had my personal phone number from our first meeting and our mutual reliance on each other for communicating necessitated a good working relationship.

Through my own lack of knowledge of their languages, my linguistic incompetence, the balance of power shifted away from me and away from English. This changed the ownership of our sessions and enabled Semira, Rushani and Kamila to take the lead in their own languages. This became a powerful tool to the extent that Semira held my hand at the end of the second session to correct me from saying goodbye to her English, telling me in Tigrinya 'ciao ciao'.

I felt I could see the intentionality in the expression on her face as she did this. She also started arriving early for the sessions and helped me to set up the room, teaching me the name for each item in Tigrinya as we worked together. Swain and Lapkin (2000) found the use of learners' home languages 'enhanced interpersonal interaction' and I already had a strong sense of this at this early stage.

The characteristics of a co-learning relationship (Brantmeier, cited in García & Wei 2014b, p.113) were embedded in the study:

· All knowledge is valued

· Reciprocal value of knowledge sharers

· Care for each other as people and co learners

· Trust

· Learning from one another

Our learning environment was based on:

· Shared power among co-learners

· Social and individualised learning

· Collective and individual meaning-making and identity exploration

· Community of practice with situated learning

· Real world engagement and action

These concepts define the co–learning relationship which formally shaped our work, but the reality was a far more up close and personal account, based on lack, humility and human interaction in a space with little shared verbal language.

The pilot showed the 'messiness' of genuine human interaction and the need for gentle, accommodating support to allow for lateness, misunderstandings and confusion. It was not about being able to understand every word each other said but more about learning that the detail of what is being said, the exact words,

the grammar, the not-quite-right pronunciation don't matter so much. It is the languaging that matters, the trust and working together within an environment in which you feel comfortable to take the risk of trying out something new. For the participants this meant trying to work in English for the first time. For me it meant working in Tigrinya, Arabic and Tamil for the first time.

It was clear that the ecological approach, the languaging in the outside world, rather than in the bubble of the classroom would be central to our work. In our context, the New Scots theme of 'integration from day one' needed 'support from day one' which was accessible in a meaningful way, appropriate, sensitive and ethical.

It is important to acknowledge that a certain level of confidence and motivation was needed to attend the sessions and also to recognise those who did not continue. Kamila did not return after the second session. When I spoke to her husband, we agreed that a volunteer from the BRC would accompany her for the second session but that she would come by herself for the third session. I think coming by herself seemed too difficult for her. I texted her but had no response.

It was clear how much emotional labour was required from me to facilitate these initial sessions. This took the form of phone calls, sometimes via the BRC telephone interpreter system, text messages, liaising with BRC staff to provide support, and checking that everyone was ok. This support and communication was vital at this stage and it was essential that it was carried into the main study. All three of the participants' husbands called or texted me at some point during the pilot to check the arrangements we had made. I reflect on the significance of their support and encouragement of the project in Chapter seven.

The significance of Norton's 'investment' (2013) discussed in Chapter two, also began to emerge as a key theme within the pilot. The learning environment we created together was essential for learners to want to learn and to feel 'invested' in the process.

By the third session, the participants seemed comfortable with the way we were working together. This was shown by Semira's body language; removing her headscarf, appearing relaxed, laughing, sitting close to me and the contrast with

the first time we met in the BRC waiting room when she sat alone in the corner, making very little eye contact and looking uncomfortable.

Semira's 'investment' in the project was clear to me when she started to initiate interaction with me in Tigrinya, by touching my hand at the end of the second session and telling me 'ciao ciao' in Tigrinya. This became our way of saying goodbye at the end of all subsequent meetings. I had the sense that she was trying to remind me of the words she had taught me in Tigrinya, and I was careful to always respond in Tigrinya rather than English. Our sessions prioritised what she *could* do rather than what she could not. I felt that reaching this level of comfort had happened more quickly than it might have done had we worked solely in English, and that working in Tigrinya enabled her and I to quickly connect in a meaningful way.

Intergenerational relationships

The families appeared to enjoy the time spent together in the sessions. In the interviews, Rushani told me that she found it helpful that her daughter could help her in class when she didn't understand something. I also observed that some mothers lacked confidence with written activities, waiting to see what their children had written, then copying their work. Children also translated for their mothers in class, which the participants explained happens in their daily lives and I questioned the effect of this on the mothers' confidence and whether this reaffirms this dynamic.

The participants were all also genuine reunited families and I felt that we were reaching the intended group of people through the partnership with the BRC. All participants had faced family separation and were now adjusting to living together after significant periods of time. Different participants attended on different days which altered the dynamics each time, this also allowed me to try new things but was also challenging in terms of preparation. For each session I needed to adapt activities for whoever turned up. The small group size allowed me to personalise activities and give plenty of individual attention which was important for starting out at this stage.

Place

The New Scots theme of ‘integration from day one’ (Scottish Government, 2018) came to life in the pilot study in a way that I could not have predicted before meeting the participants. As the participants were so new to Glasgow our work became a genuine exploration of this theme in very practical terms, not two months or six months after arrival but within their very first few days. Their newness and the fragility of their situation contributed to the shape of the study as a whole and brought the concept of liminality to the fore which I discuss in full in Chapter seven.

The participants needed orientation style activities such as using the bus, getting to know the local area and buying food. The ecological approach to take the learning outside made this meaningful within the physical context of Glasgow. Levine (2020) notes: ‘context is everything. A curriculum based on action research, whether with youths or older adults, is always and necessarily context contingent, meaning that the first step in planning is to identify the aspects of local context that lend themselves to a curricular project based on authentic situations’ (pp.84-85). For us, this meant more than drawing on the context for our classroom-based learning. It meant being together in the place and learning in it together. As I finalise this thesis, a year after starting the pilot, I do not remember all the vocabulary or grammar points we covered together, but I do remember standing at the bus stop with Semira, Rushani, and Kamila and their children. I remember how the cold wind and rain felt on my face as I peered along the road in the dark to see lights of the bus coming around the corner and Semira telling me the word in Tigrinya for bus is ‘awtobus ኣውቶቡስ’. This is situated learning, within a specific physical ecology and it is this connectedness to the place and the people which makes it meaningful. This is what integration from day one is. It is support from day one – a showing, an accompanying. Woitsch (2012) explains how in the intercultural field ‘language learners walk, and where we as teachers offer a certain kind of company’ (p.237). I found this accompaniment central to both our relationship and to our work connecting our learning to the physical context. I explore this fully in Chapters six and seven.

This was not a flashcard in a classroom with a picture of a bus. It is remembering the word for bus because it's freezing this evening and your ability to get home to your family that evening depends upon it. Integration from day one is not an ideal or something which is nice to have, it is what is needed. To survive. To be able to buy food. To be able to get out in the city. To live and to thrive. These first days are vital.

The pilot took place within a key stage of 'integration', the process of becoming acclimatised to a new country, a new city, a new climate. The impact these factors had on the learning was visible from our very own 'day one' and I began to consider what the significance of place and orientation actually meant. Was this different to context? Contextualised learning is key in ESOL, but this felt like something more viscerally connected to the physicality of the new surroundings. The cold, the weather, the shape of a city and learning to get around, the wind, the rain, the bus, the interconnectedness of these dimensions as an ecology in its own right. I began to consider concepts of place and to look towards refugee integration and understandings of place within human geography (Kale, Stupples, & Kindon, 2019) and language geography (Shuttleworth, 2018). I explore what I began to term as the 'ecology of place' within Chapter seven.

Language

In terms of pedagogy, the pilot allowed us to trial translanguaging strategies and to see what worked best starting from the point of increasing visibility of other languages e.g. mapping single lexical items across languages to build confidence. It highlighted the importance of the wider pedagogical interactions such as the additional time I spent with Semira setting up the sessions. It could be argued that this was not part of the project and yet, in some ways, the time we spent together had more significance and importance than the actual content of our 'official' time together. The fact she turned up so early spoke more than a thousand words in any language. She was voting with her feet and with her physical presence.

Linguistic identity began to emerge as a key theme, especially at the start. We were entering a liminal space, a process of adaptation and change. When you don't have English your linguistic identity, your repertoire and your identity are Tigrinya. I began to visualise what this looked like; a repertoire consisting of

languages other than English yet through monolingual pedagogy being forced to communicate in the only three words you know in English: ‘hello’, ‘yes’ and ‘no’. The same level as my Tigrinya. I questioned the social justice and ethics of such an approach.

In terms of practical implications, a monolingual approach would not have got us very far. We needed as much common ground as possible and I needed to meet them halfway. It felt exhausting to only use English. The pronunciation of a string of new English words looked strange and uncomfortable for them. When asked ‘Where are you from?’, I noticed their furrowed brows. When we tried in Tamil, it was my voice which sounded strange, my mouth which would not make the right shapes to fit the words, it was my brow that was furrowed, not theirs. It gave them a break, a chance to take a breath, to lighten the mood and to build their confidence. Our pedagogical interactions were deliberately open and based on human interaction, as Woitsch (2012) notes; ‘language pedagogy needs emotions, wonder, awe, and magic’ (p.236). This was our own ‘colourful mixture of discovery and learning’ (Woitsch, 2012, p. 236). This balance of ‘labouring and resting’ (Polwart, 2019) with each of us picking up the others’ language is two – way mutual integration with effort on both sides.

This way of working showed linguistic hospitality and participant investment. I had to learn to facilitate translanguaging in languages I do not speak and I had to do this from ‘day one’ because, without this meeting halfway, there would have been far less communication between us. Their day one was also my ‘day one’ as I began to reconsider everything I had ever done in the classroom.

Norton’s (2013) construct of ‘investment’ was central to the project and linked to the place of their languages in our work. I knew the challenges the participants faced to come to class, particularly as we started the pilot project at the beginning of February when it was already cold and dark at the time when participants needed to travel to the sessions. During the group interview at the end of the pilot, participants told me how useful it was to have their own language included as part of the learning process and how this gave them power. They wanted and needed to use their languages as part of learning. This was both a practical and an ethical necessity. I draw on these findings in full in Chapter nine.

Conclusions

The nature of the orientation style topics the participants requested highlights the specific needs at the point of arrival before people are able to enter the 'system' of more formal language learning. At this stage, the participants urgently needed immediate support with the practical aspects of their daily lives: how to use the bus, finding their way around, local places, how to buy food and introduce themselves.

I chose to write the pilot study as a separate chapter because this initial stage was very significant in terms of establishing our ways of working together, to give a genuine sense of the challenges the participants faced and why this ecological and multilingual approach fitted this context so appropriately. In discussing each session in depth, I hoped to give a sense of how our relationship developed step by step to create our own 'account' of ourselves and our positions within the research.

In the following three and a half discussion chapters I analyse the main study and illustrate how the themes identified here developed over the course of the 5-month main study, and how I began to develop an 'ecologising' of language learning based on relationships, place and language/languaging. In the following half chapter I discuss how we carried our learning from the pilot into the main study as part of the CPAR spiral.

Chapter Five and a half

Towards an ‘ecologising’ of language learning

Introduction

This half chapter sits in the liminal space between the pilot study where the participants and I met and the first of the three discussion chapters in which I present the findings from the main teaching study. In this chapter, I discuss how we moved from the pilot into the main study, I give an overview of the learning sessions and discuss the development of the three ‘ecologies’ which emerged from the data, and I draw together the ideas laid out in the policy review, literature review and methodology chapters.

Moving into the main study

Due to the significant amount of support participants needed to take part in the pilot study, the participants and I decided to move directly from the initial pilot stage into the main study. This allowed us to build on the foundation we had established during the pilot and felt appropriate given the significant effort the participants had made to attend the first four sessions. We were also keen to have as much time as possible to learn and explore the key themes together. Developing a good working relationship and getting to know each other formed a significant part of the pilot. As the ways of translanguaging were also new to all of us, moving directly into the main study allowed us to continue to develop our pedagogy while the strategies we had started to develop were fresh in our minds.

The participants and I also agreed at the end of the pilot that I would ask the BRC if any of their other clients would like to join the main study to enable for translanguaging outside each family group and also give a better chance of the project being able to continue if some participants dropped out. It would also allow the participants to make valuable social connections with others who had arrived through family reunion. Despite well founded reasons for trying to expand the group, this proved to be a difficult process which I explore in Chapter six. Three new families came along to the information session but only

one of them joined the group for the main study which meant our group consisted of a total of three families: three mothers and three daughters.

The participants

Yasmine

Yasmine is from Iran. She has been in Glasgow for 5 months and has a five-year old daughter, Rana, who also attends the sessions. Yasmine finished high school in Iran and is also studying ESOL at college. She was separated from her husband for several years and reunited in Glasgow 5 months before we met.

Semira, Lakmini and Rushani continued from the pilot study into the main study. The addition of Yasmine altered the dynamics of the group as her daughter was five-years old, significantly younger than the other children in the group. Kamila did not continue into the main study and this also shifted the linguistic ecology of our group as we no longer had an Arabic speaker and instead we included Farsi for Yasmine. This meant I could no longer make use of my limited Arabic, the only language within our ecology of which I had any prior knowledge. From the start of the main study, I needed to know some Farsi in addition to Tigrinya and Tamil.

Shaping the study into an iterative spiral of CPAR

At the end of the pilot study we held a group interview to gather feedback on the sessions and establish whether participants would like to take part in the main study. This enabled us to plan the next phase of the project as part of the iterative CPAR spiral, following the process of Plan – Act – Observe – Reflect – Re -plan - Act (Figure 2) to reflect and adjust our ways of working. I reflect on participant engagement and how effective this approach was in Chapter nine.

We initially agreed that the main study would consist of seven two–hour sessions, starting in the middle of February and running until the end of April. In session 8, I invited interpreters so I could check in more detail how the participants felt about the sessions, whether they were happy with how things were going and the topics we were working on. At this point the participants asked if we could extend the project as they wanted more time to work together. We also agreed

we would co-deliver a workshop as part of the upcoming UNESCO RILA Spring School in May. Checking in in this way enabled us to shape the project together.

Extending the project made sense as it gave us more time to learn together. Learning a language is a slow laborious process and given the starting point for all of us, the time taken to establish getting to the sessions and consolidating the group, it did not make sense to stop when we all felt we were only just beginning. This also fitted well with my own beliefs and experiences as a language teacher as, at this level, so few hours might have felt superficial in terms of helping the participants settle into life in Glasgow. I was keen not to remove this support at this crucial stage.

I felt their confidence in asking to extend the project twice showed their investment and commitment to our work, their enjoyment of the sessions and their key role in shaping the project within the CPAR spiral. We initially extended the project to ten sessions and then after another request to carry on we extended this further until the end of June which we felt was a natural end as it coincided with the end of the school term. At this point, Yasmine was due to move to London to be closer to family but Lakmini, Rushani and Semira wanted to continue. It was a hard decision to finish the project at that point and again I felt some tension between my roles of researcher (working within the remit of my PhD fieldwork) and facilitator/teacher (knowing how long it takes to learn a language and wanting to give as much support as I could). We had fourteen sessions in total for the main study, usually meeting once a week on Monday afternoons from 4-6pm in the School of Education. At the end of the project we discussed options for ESOL classes in the local community so they could continue with their learning.

The learning sessions

Each learning session had a different objective and often also a different dynamic depending on who attended the session. Sometimes we worked in the classroom, in other sessions we took trips to the local places detailed in Chapter three, making the most of our proximity to places of local interest in the West End of Glasgow. The adults were all present for almost all of the sessions. Yasmine always came with her daughter. Rushani and Lakmini were almost

always there. Semira attended almost all of the sessions and her daughter also came to four of the sessions.

Despite some disruptions I tried to establish and encourage a sense of familiarity and routine so everyone knew what to expect and understood what I was asking them to do. I felt this was particularly important given other factors in their lives were less predictable. The ecology of our relationship was formed through time spent together developing ways of working. I tried to establish patterns that could become familiar, for example by making other languages visible in the classroom as suggested in the CUNY-NYSIEB guide (Celic & Seltzer, 2011) by starting each session with a phrase on the screen in one of their languages. Whoever arrived first helped me to do this in Tamil, Tigrinya, or Farsi. This built on the multilingual practices we had started to establish in the pilot and ensured that our language ecology was always visible and shown to be important and central to our work. This small action of starting each session underpinned the decolonising methodology and highlighted the importance and place of their languages with the aim of challenging perceptions of the dominance of English both inside and outside our project.

The participants seemed to appreciate this familiarity. The repetition also served as a pedagogical tool as completing tasks became quicker and smoother with practice. I observed that they became more confident in working on activities that were similar to ones we had done before. We worked at a slow pace and built in repetition to build confidence and consolidate our learning, beginning each session with a review of what we had covered the previous time. We opted to consolidate the few essential topics which the participants requested and to build the project around these.

Choosing content

The participants told me they wanted to focus on the following ‘everyday’ topics for the main study (Semira, interview 1):

- Using the bus
- Time
- Health, body and making appointments
- Visits to local places

- Money and paying for things
- Food and shopping

I developed materials and activities around these topics using a combination of realia, authentic materials such a bus timetables and maps, materials which participants brought to our sessions and materials I created specifically for the project. On one occasion for the topic of 'health' I used some of the SQA National 2 materials to explore how these worked with a multilingual focus.

I revisited their list of chosen topics frequently to check that everyone was happy with what we were covering. Yasmine was less keen to let me know what she wanted to learn and told me: 'I'm happy for you to decide, I trust you and I think you know best what we need' (Interview 2). This may have been due to cultural differences or personality and reminded me of my students in Japan and their reluctance to tell me anything that might be perceived as being critical of their teacher. I felt this showed Yasmine had a more formal view of our relationship, perhaps based on cultural norms where it would be the teacher's sole responsibility to direct the learning. I noted also that this dynamic did not seem to occur to Semira, Rushani or Lakmini. Perhaps for Semira because she had not had the chance to get used to more typical dynamics of education rather than the collaborative approach we took due to her education being so disrupted.

Three 'ecologies'

As we developed our work over the weeks and months together and later as I worked through the process of analysis, crystallization and writing up, the sub themes which emerged pointed to three overarching themes which held wider significance within the study: 1) relationships 2) place and 3) language and 'languaging'. These broad themes were so fundamental to our work that I began to recognise each of these as an 'ecology' in its own right within an interconnected web of links between them. My thematic map looked like a spider's web.

The boundaries between each of these ecologies is porous. This porosity is appropriate and necessary as it connects the internal elements of the project (relationships, language) with the world outside (the place, the policy context,

New Scots). An ecological approach is grounded in this interconnected nature of contextual factors and their reciprocal influence on each other: ‘pull one string, metaphorically speaking, and all the others will move in response’ (van Lier, 2010, p. 4).

These ‘ecologies’ form the structure of the three discussion chapters which follow in which I make a case for an ‘ecologising’ of language learning. This approach is holistic and views language learning not as a discrete entity but one which is bound within the physical context, the linguistic context (other languages known and how these interact in the mind) and the context of the relationships which shape it. I discuss the agency of each of these three dimensions within the process of language learning and consider how these three ‘ecologies’ intersected and were brought into contact within our work. The discussion explores what happens when we draw together the multilingual approach laid out in the translanguaging literature in Chapter two, the decolonising methodology in Chapter three, and the ecological approach in terms of the physical environment. In the following chapter I discuss the ecology of our relationship as it establishes the context of our work and the agency this had by building on the findings of the pilot study.

Chapter Six

Ecology 1: Relationships

Introduction

> *If we are going to do this, if we are going to decolonise foreign language pedagogy, let's do it and let's do it as an attempt at a way of doing it. The only way to decolonise is to do it. It needs some forethought but ultimately it needs actions which are redolent with decolonising attempts […] It needs people who are able to embark on such a journey and return with tales to tell of what happens when decolonising is attempted in foreign language learning (Phipps, 2019b, p. 5)*

In response to the calls for 'decolonising' methodologies laid out in Chapter three, the fieldwork in Scotland can be seen as such a 'tale', of one such attempt to 'decolonise' foreign language pedagogy. As such, this section of the analysis is grounded within intercultural research and illustrates how the participants took part 'on different terms' (Smith, 1999) due to a more collaborative approach. Our decolonising methodology is an ontological re-orientation of research practice within the CPAR spiral. I began to understand this shared relationship as an 'ecology', a blend of intercultural modes of communication based within the physical and linguistic ecology of the project. This language learning in a broader sense connects with the physical 'ecology' to explore different ways of 'knowing beyond - or *beside/s* words' (Thurlow, 2016, p. 503).

The ecology of our relationship contextualises our place from which to 'know' (Butler, 2005) each other by drawing on feminist care ethics (Gilligan, 1993; Noddings, 2012). Noddings (2012) explains how establishing a 'climate of care' should not be additional effort 'on top' of other things, it is underneath all we do as teachers. When that climate is established and maintained, everything else goes better'(p. 777).

It is important to start here because these intercultural relationships, the way we interacted with each other, serve as foundational concepts for the ecology of place and the ecology of language and languaging in the two chapters which follow. Ethical intercultural relationships were embedded within our language learning through the wider pedagogical interactions within our work, particularly when verbal language was not the easiest way to communicate.

This chapter explores the relationships between the research participants and me and between the participants themselves. It considers intergenerational relationships and support from family members outside of our learning sessions. I refer to Brantmeier's (cited in García & Wei, 2014b) co-learning relationship throughout this chapter as it is relevant not only to the translanguaging pedagogy we favoured, but also to the wider themes of intercultural research and decolonising methodology embedded in our work.

Stopping and starting, disrupting, and establishing

Although the main study directly followed the pilot, we had an initial few weeks of disruption when we tried to accommodate new participants. Our relationship and the participants' investment in the project were put to the test during this period of transition. In my fieldnotes below I describe the process of trying to expand the group for the main study and the impact this had on our fragile, developing relationship.

Session 5

Our session felt unsettled and a bit frustrating today. I had agreed with the BRC to invite new clients to come along to join the project. This meant a member of BRC staff needed to accompany the new participants. I arranged interpreters to support me to discuss the aims of the research and informed consent. The arrival of new people and interpreters felt very disruptive. The BRC staff member who kindly tried to assist with this got lost with the whole group, ending up halfway along Byres Road, a mile past the School of Education in the opposite direction from the BRC office where they had started and then had to catch another bus back to meet us. With all the confusion it took over an hour and a half for them to travel from the BRC office to the School of Education and I think the idea of needing to do this the following week seemed a near

impossible task. It also meant that our session was in full swing when the new people arrived just 30 minutes before we were due to finish. This left half an hour to explain the research, answer questions and to facilitate a couple of activities so all the participants could get to know each other a bit and understand the project.

I tried to facilitate activities for Lakmini, Semira and Rushani, who had been working on language for using the bus and buying tickets, whilst also explaining the research to the new participants and trying to engage everyone. Semira, Rushani and Lakmini seemed uncomfortable with so many new people (four families consisting of four mothers and seven children in total) suddenly coming into the room which now feels like 'our' space, and there was not enough time to facilitate everyone working together in more than just a couple of introductory activities. Rushani, Lakmini and Semira seemed very shy to interact with the new people and trying to navigate this was difficult in such a short amount of time. The new participants asked questions with the support of the interpreter, agreed they would like to be part of the project and signed the consent forms. We finished up the session and I gave the new participants the information they needed for next week.

(Fieldnotes, session 5)

After the session, I texted everyone to check if they were coming the following week. Two people texted me back in Farsi and I used online translation tools to translate our messages so that I could also respond in Farsi. Rushani, Semira and Lakmini did not respond to my messages and I worried they would not return.

These interactions reminded me of the fragility of our developing relationship. At the start of any course, I always feel there is a limited window of opportunity in which to engage everyone. In this case, I needed to quickly show that this project would be useful, enjoyable and a positive experience. I had carefully nurtured my relationship with Lakmini, Rushani and Semira during the pilot and this session made me feel that that work/relationship was now at risk. I had the sense that they might not welcome the change in dynamics that eleven additional people would bring. Would this still feel like their small, well supported group? Would they still feel the same sense of ownership and be able to shape the study with me? Would they feel confident to tell me if they did not?

The new participants included two Farsi speakers, one Tigrinya speaker and one Tamil speaker – a perfect linguistic fit. The language ecology of the new group meant everyone would have someone to work with outside the family group which would enable us to explore translanguaging more widely.

My observations and concerns proved to be well founded at the next session when only one of the new participants came and Lakmini, Rushani and Semira did not respond to my text messages. My heart sank.

Session 6

Only Yasmine came today. This is the first time that Semira, Rushani and Lakmini have not come and have not replied to my messages. I tried to make the best of this session. It was the first time that Yasmine and I have worked together; we had already chosen the topic of 'health' at the previous session and so we tried a few activities to establish how much English Yasmine already knew. I kept an eye on the clock and wondered if Lakmini, Rushani and Semira would arrive late. It is not like them not to come and I worry not only about the impact of the last session and the impression they might have but also about their wellbeing.

It is an intense session with Yasmine and I working closely together alongside her 5-year old daughter. I try to work in the same way that Lakmini, Rushani, Semira and I have established by checking back and forth between Farsi and English, but I think this feels strange to her as she has studied ESOL at college here and isn't used to working across both languages in this way. It also feels that we are working in a vacuum as the others are not here to show how we usually work and to bring life to the activities I have planned to support the topics they have chosen. It is hard to give a sense of how the sessions have been without anyone else for both Yasmine and her daughter to interact with.

After the class I text Rushani and Semira to see if they are ok but there is no response. I plan the next session but know that if they don't return I will need to speak to the BRC again to see if we can engage more participants, which would effectively mean starting again with a different group. I cannot go ahead with the project with only one participant.

It seemed like a long time to wait until the following Monday to see who would turn up.

(Fieldnotes, session 6)

This was an uncertain time for the project and I did not know if I was planning the next session for Rushani, Semira and Lakmini or whether it would just be for Yasmine and her daughter.

I had a sense of how fragile the participants' commitment to the project might be, the lack of knowing what other factors might influence their decision not to come, and the amount of support they might need in these first few tentative weeks as New Scots. I knew they had enjoyed the pilot and thinking they might not return sat very uncomfortably with me. This underpinned how precarious this period in their lives was and how important feeling comfortable within the group was both in terms of their relationship with me and also with each other. In the following section, I explore trust and risk and the balance between these themes and their investment in the project.

Building trust, taking risks and 'investment'

Session 7

4pm. I have set up the classroom and I wait to see who will arrive. I'm concerned that the fieldwork will all fall apart at this stage.

The progress of this project hangs on who walks through the door today. It is not just the progress of the study that worries me but rather the feeling that Semira, Lakmini and Rushani and I had started to establish a way of working together and that I could see how much the sessions were helping them. I want them to be part of this, I want them to get as much from this project as they can. I feel a sense of having let them down, perhaps having misjudged the impact of increasing the group size. It is difficult to balance the components of the project; the role of the BRC, feeling I need to have a large enough group for the research to 'matter' and also the tension between my role of researcher and teacher where I want simply to be able to support the participants as best I can.

Unless they come today, they won't know that there is a strong chance that none of the new participants will come. In trying to expand the group I may have lost both groups. I am left with Yasmine who is not aware of these dynamics and seemed disappointed last week that she was the only participant. She asked last time, in Farsi through her phone – 'the others?'

I hear footsteps and chattering along the corridor. I have propped the door open so I do not miss anyone and am now sitting watching the doorway intently. The footsteps slow outside the room… Slowly Lakmini, followed by Rushani and then Semira appear in the doorway. I can't believe they're all back! I'm delighted to see them, to know they are ok and that they are going to give this another chance. They walk in, smiling and we greet each other with 'Selam', 'Vanakkam' 'Hello'. There is no explanation about last week. I'm relieved that we will have another chance to build this slightly larger group and to welcome Yasmine, to show her what the sessions are really about and for them all to work together. It also means that Yasmine's daughter will have other people to interact with.

I ask if they're ok and they each tell me they are. Not knowing if they would return made planning this session difficult and as I greet them I mentally reconfigure the plan for today. I ask them to wait and I run back up the stairs to the office to borrow our shared kettle and grab tea and coffee from my desk drawer. I run back down and show them the kettle – 'Coffee? Tea?' I ask. They smile and make their hot drinks and then we start a board race to review some of the words we have learnt for talking about health and the body. I know this is an activity they enjoy and I want to show Yasmine the type of activities we have found enjoyable together to help us with our ongoing review and vocabulary building. There is a great energy in the room, everyone takes part, laughing and smiling and competing with each other. It feels good that Yasmine can now see our work in action and be properly welcomed into the group.

We continue to work on health and body as a review, mapping single lexical items across languages. As this is the way we worked on food, the participants are now familiar with what I am asking them to do. It also demonstrates to Yasmine how we have developed ways of working to include all our languages.

The rest of the session goes very well and we finish up and say goodbye in all our languages. I close the door and start to tidy up. I can plan now. If they will come, we can do this. I decide not to invite anyone else to join our group.

(Fieldnotes, session 7)

This experience showed me the fragility of the ecology of our relationship, its newness and the emotional labour, care and nurture needed at this stage. We would have a small group because of this, smaller than I originally planned but I felt that if they engaged and came each week it would work well because I would be able to work closely with each of them. I accepted that we would not be able to translanguage outside the family group and, although I was concerned this would limit us, I viewed this as one of the key challenges of the relationship between theory and practice. The project responded to real life as part of an ecological approach and I did not want to risk losing Rushani, Lakmini and Semira. We had started this project together and I felt a strong sense of responsibility to support them to continue.

This session was a turning point for the project as it consolidated the makeup of the group. Our new language ecology would include Farsi. The ecology of our relationship would include Yasmine and her daughter. Lakmini, Rushani and Semira still formed the majority of the group, it did not feel like such a drastic change to include one additional family. I appreciated their risk in returning and giving this another chance.

The fact that they returned despite what may have been an uncomfortable, unsettling experience also shows their commitment to our shared project. It evidences Norton's (2013) 'investment' that started to emerge as a theme in the pilot. I think they came back because the benefits outweighed the potential difficulties of coming to the sessions. Semira told me at the end of the pilot: 'Yes, because it's a good experience for us and we're hoping to learn more that's why we have to do that. I come because this is helping me'.

The time and care taken to build this relationship was essential. It is the foundation which Noddings describes as a 'relationship of caring' as part of a co-learning relationship (García & Wei, 2014b). This human interaction and care for wellbeing, grounded in the feminist ethics of care is a fundamental part of

intercultural research and permeates throughout the different aspects of this work. It is present within the social justice of translanguaging, the decolonising methodology, the collaborative CPAR approach and the gendered nature of language learning. It is also present within ecological approaches. In his recent book, 'A Human Ecological Language Pedagogy', Glenn Levine (2020) notes compassion as 'indispensable for a human ecological approach to language pedagogy'(p. 92). This compassion and caring were fundamental to our work.

Over the weeks, which became months working together, we became increasingly comfortable and familiar with each other. This development of trust in the project and in each other was shown at the end of session 9 when Semira seemed deep in thought, then told me: 'next time, my daughter come'. This was unsolicited. Semira had attended the sessions alone up until that point. I do not know the reasons for her decision. Was it because she saw how Rushani and Lakmini enjoyed the sessions together? Or did she need the support in Tigrinya? Or was it more about trust?

Trust was also shown in session 11 when Rushani, who always came with her daughter, came to the session alone for the first time as Lakmini was taking a college assessment. I was not sure whether Rushani would feel comfortable coming alone particularly as she would need to take the-much-talked-about two buses without her daughter's support. I know this was not easy for her to travel alone yet she still came to the session. I felt this also showed Rushani's personal investment in the project as the benefits of coming to the session outweighed the difficult journey.

Individual investment

The theme of investment in Chapters two and five carried very clearly into the main study. I knew some of the challenges the participants faced to come to class, I had seen them first-hand and stood in the cold, dark February evenings waiting for the bus with them as we all stamped our feet up and down, trying to keep the children out of the road. Their attendance and commitment to come to the sessions despite a challenging journey echoes the 'investment' that Norton (2013) describes and was evidenced further by their participation in the sessions, their enthusiasm and their patience with each other.

After the initial disruption with establishing the group, the attendance for the sessions was almost 100%. When someone was absent they always let me know in advance. This also showed the mutual consideration and respect we had for each other. In addition to coming to each session, no one ever arrived more than a few minutes late. This meant that we could make the most of our time together and that we could go on short trips to local places after school but before closing time. I discuss our work outside the classroom in more detail in Chapter seven.

Semira's investment was clear to me throughout the project: by her attendance, arriving early and helping me to set up the room, in the way she participated in the interviews and in her careful teaching of me in Tigrinya. Working in Tigrinya enabled her and I to connect in a meaningful way which was not connected to her English language level. In my fieldnotes below I discuss the significance and importance of the time we spent together outside of the learning sessions.

Session 8

Semira arrived at 3.20pm today and helped me to set up again. She seems to enjoy this time together and we have established simple routines for doing this together. I try to remember the words in Tigrinya for the items as we set up: ብሽኮቲ_bshkoti, ወይኒ ኣረየ, weyni 'areye, ሻሂ shahi, ቡን bun, ዋንጫ wanča - *biscuits, grapes, tea, coffee, cup. These are our own shared rituals. She is the only one who comes this early, knowing I will be here. On this occasion she opens the door and finds me eating an oatcake, a late lunch on what has been a busy day. She laughs at having caught me. I show her what I am eating and explain that it's Scottish and offer her one. She shakes her head, declines, and laughs whilst looking at my oatcake. I don't know how to say it in Tigrinya and she doesn't know how to say it in English but we both understand that the dry, beige oatcake looks unappetizing to her.*

There is a quiet, calm sense of togetherness and companionship in this work of setting up together. She chooses to be here, to come to the room 40 minutes early before the others arrive. We meet here in the classroom with a quiet, companionable understanding of things we cannot explain to each other verbally, in this space between our languages. Leaving her home this early

means that she does not bring her daughter as there is not time to collect her from school. This time that we spend together is as important and necessary as the time within the learning sessions. It is not just what happens between our agreed time of 4-6pm which makes this project, it is the building of our relationships, the establishing of this context in which to learn, to share, to redefine these parameters of relationships of learning and of being (together).

Rushani and Lakmini arrive at 3.50pm followed by Yasmine and her daughter who arrive a few minutes later and run in apologising. The dynamic shifts again as it is no longer Semira and I alone within our language ecology of Tigrinya and English. I have a sense that this project means something more to Semira than to the others. I am aware that she has the least formal education. Her expectations seem different and there is a different sense of balance between her and I. I never feel that she sees me as a formal teacher. I think she enjoys catching me eating my late lunch. As she sees me fumbling with the cables for the screen, I press the wrong button so rather than display the Tigrinya expression that I want to show, the screen retracts back into its tube near the ceiling. We both look at each other and laugh. I am clumsy and human in this interaction and she seems to enjoy this part of our sessions, the bits that only she sees while we are setting up.

(Fieldnotes, session 8)

The sense of how much this project means to Semira is shown further when the interpreters come for the interviews later in the same session. I note Semira's body language. At first Rushani, Semira and Yasmine give short answers, simply answering the questions but not giving much detail. My fieldnotes below explore Semira's response to the interviews:

I notice Semira listening intently as I explain the purpose of the research again and I watch her sit up straighter when I tell her how important her role is and how much her opinions matter. The interpreter carefully explains this to Semira. I wait and listen to her very carefully give long, considered responses about what these sessions mean to her and about using Tigrinya in class. Semira and I look straight into each other's eyes with the interpreter acting as our mouthpieces. It is a source of ongoing frustration that we cannot speak to each other in such detail without the interpreters but this seems the next best thing.

I wait for the interpreter to tell me what Semira has said. Seeing the way Semira responds shows me how seriously she is taking this project and I think she sees this symmetry in the way I nod and smile whilst keeping eye contact as the interpreter translates her words. I am confident of her investment and I have a deep respect and appreciation for the way she carefully considers her responses and speaks at length. The speaking at length is what we are missing – up until this point our conversations with each other are in short, measured chunks which can be translated, understood to make meaning. We 'language' through snippets of Tigrinya, English, and body language but the depth and the detail are what is lacking and I feel this acutely. The interaction with the interpreter, while it is necessary and it is my door to understanding how she feels about the project, is also hard to watch as I cannot ask Semira myself. How easy it is for the interpreter to ask Semira in detail in Tigrinya while I struggle to remember the word she has told me at least five times for 'chicken'. My linguistic incompetence is a tool, a feature of our translanguaging during our learning sessions, but it is something else during the interviews. I am lacking in their languages. I cannot meet her further along the English - Tigrinya continuum as I would like and if I could I think we both know we would have a lot more to say to each other.

Semira tells the interpreter how she did not finish primary school in Eritrea because of the war. I tell her how well she is doing in our sessions. I feel moved by how carefully she considers her answers. I listen carefully in return, speaking slowly and checking her words for the interpreter to repeat back to her so she knows I have understood what she is telling me. By slowing down my pace of English I hope that Semira may catch some of what I say, this feels more respectful than speaking as if this form of English, the one that the interpreter and I use is a secret language, one which is inaccessible, impenetrable to Semira, Rushani, Lakmini and Yasmine.

(Fieldnotes, session 8)

I note similar investment from Yasmine during the final interview, as she gives extended answers, considering each response and speaking in depth for the interpreter to translate. The interpreters comment on how good the project is and how great the work is. I have the sense of inviting them into something

which has become quite special to each of us within the private ecology of our relationship and from the interpreters comments it feels this is visible to them too.

Finding common ground

I found participants were keen to know more about me and there was a sense of trying to find what our 'common ground' was. In these conversations I reflected on Butler's 'account of oneself' (2005). In Chapter three, I discussed my account of myself in terms of my language biography and my teaching experience; however, I found that the 'account' of myself that the participants were most interested in was as of me as a woman, a mother, a person who is also not from Glasgow. In the sessions they were keen to know if I had children. Boys or girls? How old were they? A photo? How long had I been here? Our place in our families as women and as mothers gave us a position from which to understand each other. As the project explores the gendered nature of language learning, I found my position in the research also shaped by my experiences as a woman and a mother also with children of primary school age. These were markers of the common ground between us because they are factors which transcend the boundaries of language and culture. These commonalities formed part of the foundation of how we understood each other and the way that we checked in with each other when we met, by asking how each other's families were.

My own position in the research was fundamentally shaped by participating as learner (García & Wei, 2014b) from a position of linguistic incompetence. I was multiply disadvantaged as I tried to get to grips with all three of their languages. This finding sits firmly at the intersection of the two ecologies of relationships and language and was central to the project as it gave symmetry within our roles. I discuss this in full in Chapter nine.

Emotional labour

The emotional labour required from me to facilitate the sessions continued throughout the project. This took the form of phone calls, sometimes via the BRC telephone interpreter system, text messages, liaising with BRC staff to provide support, and generally checking in with everyone. I texted participants before each session to remind them of the time we planned to meet and to

confirm they were coming and in return they let me know if they could not come or if they were going to be late. This worked well for almost all of the sessions with the exception of the disruption we had around trying to enlarge the group. This two-way process, balance and reciprocity was embedded in how we worked together.

The emotional labour also took the form of quietly noticing how people responded in the sessions and this stepping back became a vital part of how we worked together. This theme is also present within the literature on feminist ethics of care (Gilligan, 1993; Noddings, 2012) which is based on the premise that humans are inherently relational and responsive beings. It emphasises the connectedness and interdependence between people and is grounded on the idea of voice and the need to be listened to carefully. It is relevant here as this paying attention is a fundamental part of ethics of care, 'receptive listening is a powerful intellectual tool. But, from the perspective of care theory, it is more than that; it is the basic attitude that characterises relations of care and trust' (Noddings, 2012, p. 780). The 'receptive listening' which Noddings describes here goes hand in hand with the audibility I return to in Chapter nine. I found that stepping back to observe and notice created space for Semira, Rushani, Lakmini and Yasmine to fill the space themselves.

Emotional labour also meant creating a physical space in which they would feel welcomed (explore in full in Chapter seven). It was cold and dark at the time they travelled to the University, so I made sure hot drinks and snacks were available when they arrived and that the room was warm and comfortable. We took a break halfway through each session to keep energy levels up which was particularly important for the children and helped establish a routine for learning.

As the ecology of our relationship developed, we also accommodated the precarity and disruptions in each other's lives with a sense of mutual understanding of these challenges. We met at a time of profound change in the participants' lives and the process of becoming more settled in our ways of learning together mirrored a wider sense of becoming more settled in their lives outside the project as New Scots within the physical ecology of Glasgow. I return to this theme in the following chapter as it connects with the ecology of place.

We developed a sense of caring for each other and each other's children (perhaps as we would our own, as we had established our position from which to 'know' each other as mothers of primary school aged children), a warmth, a sense of fun and friendship and of mutual support. This emotional labour provided a sense of stability. I made sure I was always consistent; I would do as I said and in return I asked the same from them. This worked. We were honest with each other and discussed options when we needed to change plans.

Ethics of care

As the project developed, the participants became more comfortable interacting with each other directly and I tried to encourage this as much as possible. I could see how difficult this was with so little shared language and we showed our commitment and care for each other in other small ways. Semira, Lakmini and Rushani were always kind and encouraging in their interactions with Yasmine's 5-year old daughter. They were always patient and where shared language was lacking, they showed mutual encouragement and understanding with body language, smiles and eye contact.

Participants also became more comfortable with how they interacted and viewed me. Lakmini was 17 at the start of the project and for the first few weeks when she wanted to ask me something she would call me 'teacher'. Each time I responded by gently reminding her to call me 'Sarah'. She gradually got used to this, a few times starting to call me 'Teach.., then laughing and changing to 'Sarah'. This became less and less formal and in session 9 she called me by knocking loudly on the table three times in rapid succession to get my attention and shouting 'hey Sarah!' By this stage she was confident enough that I was no longer a formal 'teacher' figure. She also felt confident to take my phone from me when we visited the Hunterian (Chapter seven) to show me a better way to take a selfie. This gradual reducing in formality also happened between the participants, as shown in my fieldnotes from session nine:

Semira arrived a few minutes after everyone else today and looked for somewhere to sit. There were plenty of empty chairs but Yasmine noticed Semira's hesitation, rather than interject I waited to let Yasmine act as host to emphasise that I am not in charge here in our shared space. Yasmine removed

her handbag from the chair next to her and shouted 'hey!' followed by 'sit' to Semira. Semira looked surprised but took the seat next to Yasmine with a smile. Once both women were sitting they looked at each other and nodded, perhaps unsure of which language to use to greet each other. Our efforts to talk to each other are clumsy but this is overridden by the desire to communicate, to make ourselves understood and to welcome each other.

(Fieldnotes, session 9)

This showing is 'languaging', it is a 'a mode of exploration and embodiment, to allow a flow of action, impressions, natural conversation, showing and relationship' (Phipps, 2013a, p. 22) which I discussed in Chapter three. Verbal language was lacking but by using all resources, including gesture we could communicate what was needed in the moment.

Our care for each other and for the children in the group was shown further on our visit to Kelvingrove Museum. I discuss this trip in full in Chapter seven but consider this section of my fieldnotes from our walk back through Kelvingrove Park here to illustrate our ways of caring for each other*:*

Session 11

The museum is starting to close and we are asked to leave. We head downstairs and back out the other side of Kelvingrove Museum, facing Kelvin Hall.

We begin walking along Kelvin Way then step back into the park, walking slowly together. It is quiet and companionable. Rana runs off ahead to the playpark. Yasmine calls her daughter gently back and we walk on but she runs off again, this time quickly in the other direction. Suddenly Semira yells – 'Ey… RAAAAANNNNNAAAAA NOOOOOO!' so loudly that we all turn around to look at her. I have never heard Semira's voice so loud. Yasmine and Semira only have the barest of direct communication in our sessions yet our sense of community, our sense of embodied togetherness through the act of being physically present and together is important. This extends to telling each other's children off and keeping them safe. There is a strong sense of caring for each other, for the children in the group, a sense of shared responsibility. Rana looks startled, she looks at Semira with surprise and quickly returns to walk alongside the rest of

us in shock at being told off by someone other than her mother. Yasmine looks at Semira and smiles, in acknowledgement that this act is ok with her. Semira strides on through the park. In Scotland, we are not so free telling each other's children off. It feels that Semira sees our collective responsibility for Yasmine's daughter. Rana stays with us until we reach the park gate at the other side. We smile and laugh at each other, understanding that Rana would not come back to us when her mother called her but she recognised this as a more serious issue when Semira called her back.

(Fieldnotes, session 11)

Feminist ethics of care highlight the importance of close personal relationships for women. The fact that we were working as an all-female group had a specific impact on this research. We were not only women in this research, but also mothers working with our children present. The ethics of care developed by Carol Gilligan and Nel Noddings suggest that women learn to think about ethics in terms of care, responsibility and interdependence in relationships in contrast to men who depend on ethics of justice (Gilligan, 1993). Women's capacity for care is seen as a strength.

Creating a 'climate for caring' was fundamental to the foundation of the research and our intercultural relationships; 'time spent on building a relation of care and trust is not time wasted' (Noddings, 2012, p. 774). Noddings (2012) explains that caring cannot be reduced to empathy, that 'dialogue is fundamental in building relations of care and trust' (p.75), and that we must ensure we listen carefully to strive for empathic accuracy. My understanding of empathetic accuracy also included listening using all my senses, it included observation as there was not much verbal language to tune in to. Instead, I listened by observing, stepping back, checking in, comparing all the 'data' available to me and reflecting as part of the CPAR spiral.

Yuval- Davis (2011) notes how feminist 'ethics of care' transcends cultures: 'morality does not ground its ontological base in membership in specific national, ethnic or religious communities but on transcending familial relationships into a universal principle of interpersonal relationships' (p.11). Yuval – Davis (2011) also notes the need for respect and trust to be mutual, rather than one person in a more dominant position, caring for someone needy.

This was reflected in our co-learning relationship and the balance of power in our work and also connected to liminality and 'communitas' (Turner, 1969) which I explore later in this chapter.

Embedding mutual consideration and wellbeing as pedagogy

We embedded this mutual consideration in our work both inside and outside the classroom, but I was conscious that we lacked verbal language to express feeling and emotions. In session 7 I introduced greetings to enable us to describe feelings and tell each other how we felt. My fieldnotes below detail our work to bring this to life:

We practise adjectives for describing how we feel to answer, 'how are you?' I show images of faces I have prepared. We review: 'good, fine, happy, bored, angry, sad' and we write the words for each of these in their languages too. This is harder to be precise and to pin down.

If someone doesn't 'get' the word and doesn't know the word in their own language I use the computer to check and this usually brings recognition. We have become used to this way of checking and they are good at letting me know when they don't understand. I can't tell whether what I am showing them on the screen is correct so I watch their faces for their reaction – if there is recognition or confusion or blankness.

In the next session I was keen for them to be able to tell me how they were feeling, partly to extend our ways of greeting each other but also so that we could express our emotions to each other. To do this we worked on single lexical items again across all languages, creating a multilingual map of facial expressions. After working through the language for this I asked Lakmini: 'how are you?' She smiles and slowly puts together 'I'm happy in your class'. I appreciate that she has extended this beyond the simple 'I'm happy/ I'm fine' to give the detail that she is happy because of the class and I feel it confirms that she is becoming more comfortable in the group.

Ritual and familiarity

We began each session with the same ritual of boiling the kettle and making coffee. We each know each other's drink of preference – coffee for Semira, water for Yasmine, tea for Lakmini, Rushani and me. Not too many biscuits for Yasmine's daughter. Grapes are popular with everyone. There is a sense of community in this.

After break we review body parts as a bingo game, I'm very impressed by what they remember. They shout out -'leg, arm,'etc. 'Mouth' causes confusion and sometimes sounds more like 'mouse' so I use the screen to show a picture of a 'mouse' and contrast this with 'mouth'. Everyone laughs and we check the words again in their own languages to reinforce understanding. There is a lot of laughing in this session. I think it helps that we are all women as we go over body parts. They point freely to each other's bodies and to mine.

At the end of the session I notice Semira wants to tell me something as we are finishing up. She tells me in English: 'next time – my daughter' and points to our group. 'You're going to bring your daughter next time?' I search my brain for the word for daughter in Tigrinya that she has told me. Wlad? She looks at me blankly. I try again, slowly and raise my intonation at the end in an effort to show I am asking her if I have the word right. Wlad? ወለድ? Semira nods, confirming 'mmm mmm', smiling that I have remembered the word. I ask her daughter's name and we agree – next time. I am looking forward to this. Semira tells the others too: 'Next time, my daughter'. Everyone smiles and nods enthusiastically.

(Fieldnotes, session 9)

It has taken nine sessions for us to get to the point where Semira feels comfortable bringing her daughter. I recognise the length of time it has taken for us to build this relationship, this trust and familiarity and how this is particularly important within intergenerational work as this extends to trusting another person/ a group of people with your child.

Intergenerational relationships

In this section I explore the family relationships which impacted our work. I begin by considering the relationships within the learning sessions before discussing the support outside of the project.

Introducing Semira's daughter: Another shift in dynamics

At this point in the project, the ecology of our relationship intersects with intergenerational relationships and their influence on the group as a whole and within each individual family. In my fieldnotes from session 10 I reflect on the impact of Semira's daughter joining us:

It's starting to get lighter outside. Semira brings her daughter for the first time and I feel her sense of pride as her daughter introduces herself in fluent English. Awet is 10 years old and everyone welcomes her to the group. She looks like a smaller version of Semira and this starts a discussion on whose children look like their mothers. We talk about their daughters who are now all in the room and decide which features are similar – Eyes? Hair? Mouth? When it's my turn I show them a photo of my eldest son. They are surprised and laugh at how blond his hair is and we check the way to say this in all our languages. No, he doesn't look like me at all. I show my youngest son – oh, yes! (he looks just like me) – dark eyes and hair – same.

We now have a 5-year old, a 10-year old a 17-year old and 3 women in our group. It is interesting that this has worked out to be an all-female group. Everyone is on time today and with the addition of Awet there is a sense of excitement in the room, a sense of being ready to start the session and welcome Semira's daughter.

We review our work from the previous week and practise answering 'how are you?' Awet shows off how easy this is for her. She is incredibly confident and chatty for a 10-year old. We check back to their languages and this is the first time Semira has someone else to work with in Tigrinya. Her daughter is quicker and tells Semira the answers in Tigrinya. Awet is also quicker to correct my Tigrinya! Semira looks proud of her daughter. It alters the dynamic between her and I as her daughter translates for her rather than us speaking directly to each

other. I am careful not to initiate this. Semira and I have established our own way of communicating; it is messy, fragmented, confused but we are used to it being this way. With her daughter present this is diluted however, it is good that Semira has someone with whom she can work in Tigrinya, but it changes our way of communicating. They can now all translanguage within the family group which makes it much more evenly balanced and easier for me to facilitate.

Rushani and Lakmini give me the homework they asked me to set them last time. It is beautifully presented and Rushani hands this to me with a sense of pride – a clear plastic wallet with very careful handwriting that they tell me they have worked on together at home. I check it and tell them how well they have done. I'm happy to check additional work but it's also fine if they don't want to do this.

In this session we do a board race which I've found works well with all age groups. People shout out and correct each other with some of the children playfully complaining when their mothers get the wrong answers, we line up in teams and I make a chalk mark on the floor for them to stand behind to race to the board. Semira is very fast; she tells me she likes running and it's good that this skill comes in useful. They run to erase the numbers I have written on the board then to write the new ones I call out up on the board. Everyone is engaged and it's good to get moving in the session.

Throughout the project, I tried to find ways that would engage all the different age groups. I found that activities which required physical movement worked well. The participants enjoyed games and particularly those with a competitive element. In the following section I discuss the specific needs of reunited families.

Intergenerational learning: addressing specific needs of reunited families

All of the participants had been separated from their husbands for a significant amount of time and had travelled with their children to be reunited as a family in Glasgow. The BCR FRIS project gives a focus of 'rebuilding the family unit' within its work in Glasgow and Birmingham and I hope that this work contributes to this outcome through the exploration of intergenerational language learning

and the impact of mothers learning language together with their children within these tentative first weeks.

During the project there were many examples which showed the benefits of mothers and their children working together. Lakmini and Rushani attended every class apart from one together, Lakmini was almost an adult and turned 18 during the project; a birthday which was marked in between our sessions with a beautiful celebration with family, cake and friends, photos she proudly shared with us at our following session.

Lakmini and Rushani were both at beginner level of English at the start of the project but, as we worked together, Lakmini began to gain more confidence, to be able to pick up words in English more easily and more consistently than her mother. Lakmini supported Rushani and they seemed to really enjoy working together. Rushani often checked with Lakmini when she did not understand, and Lakmini explained for Rushani in Tamil when something was not clear. At times, I observed Rushani become frustrated with her mother when she took longer to grasp something and Lakmini looked to me and rolled her eyes. I always smiled back and supported Rushani as I did not want to feed into this dynamic. This was a balance between support and dependency between the two of them.

The dynamic between Semira and her daughter was similar in terms of her daughter providing support, although Awet was 10 years old and therefore not able to work in quite the same way. Semira's daughter worked with her using Tigrinya, supporting her when she did not understand. Awet was also extremely confident, often jumping in and asking questions when I was explaining something and frequently answering when I had asked someone else a question. Her presence in the group altered the dynamic and made it more possible for Semira to take a back seat. I questioned this dynamic throughout the project as I wanted Semira to maximise the opportunity of our sessions and I felt she was more focused on her own learning without her daughter present. In the interview in session 8 she told me that she was 'happy either way' with her daughter present but also that she liked to learn alone. I left her to make the decision about when she wanted to bring her daughter and when she preferred to come alone, and this struck a balance which seemed to work well for them

both. She had support from her daughter in some of the sessions and in others she could focus solely on her own learning.

The situation for Yasmine was different as her daughter was only 5. This meant I had to adjust the activities so that her daughter had her own learning outcomes that she could work towards. This was difficult as she did not have other children of a similar age to work with. This brought a different dynamic in terms of intergenerational learning and the pedagogy we adopted; importantly, it also made it possible for Yasmine to attend the sessions. In the final interview, Yasmine told me that both her and Rana had enjoyed the sessions and that if her daughter had not been allowed to come, she would not have been able to take part. It removed the need for additional childcare which is so well recognised and documented as a key barrier to learning for many refugee women (Chapters one and four).

The intergenerational learning aspect worked very differently for each of the three families but there were positive benefits for each of them. Yasmine told me in the final interview: 'I'm very happy in this class and actually I enjoy being with people from different countries and different ages.'

Rushani told me: 'It's ok to have different age groups people but preference is for this age, teenagers. They can grasp quickly compared to younger age groups so they can pick up what you're teaching very easily'. Due to this Rushani made the decision only to bring her daughter rather than both her daughter and son to the sessions. She told me: 'Yes, so this age group is ok. This age groups will be fine compared to kids.' Semira also felt it was good to have her daughter's support and told me: 'My daughter is picking it up very quickly and I can learn from her. It's really useful.'

Working together and attending the same sessions had the added benefit that participants could work together and practise outside of class. Semira told me this was important for her and her daughter. It also met the need that Theresa discusses in Newport (Chapter four) of giving the families somewhere neutral to go to take part in an activity and to take their minds off any problems they might be having with the aim of providing a distraction and a common purpose. They could also support each other's learning in between sessions which supported translanguaging by working in their own languages.

I asked participants if they would like tasks to complete at home and gave them these at the end of each session. Rushani and Lakmini seemed to take particular pride in this and returned their work to me, beautifully written, carefully thought through and kept flat in a plastic folder. I checked their work carefully and took time to sit with each of them and to go through their work together. The first time I did this I sat with Rushani first and she moved her bag to make space for me and carefully listened to what I said and showed her. I felt this emphasised the sense of investment and value she placed in the classes and in our interactions. After I gave back their work, I noticed Rushani and Lakmini check my written comments as they had clearly worked on this together, there was a sense of a shared task and helping each other.

Semira also felt it helped her to have her daughter in the sessions and told me: 'Yes, it helps when we can work together in Tigrinya'. I asked her how she felt about having the children in the group and she told me: 'I think it's good. I'm happy to be here with my daughter. She can help me.'

Rushani had similar thoughts and told me: 'I feel it's good, it's very comfortable to have my daughter here with me. We can help each other if we don't understand. Sometimes if I don't understand I can understand from my daughter.'

I asked Yasmine if she enjoyed the sessions and she told me: 'Yes, definitely and yes my daughter enjoys it too. I couldn't have come if I didn't bring my daughter, I didn't need to worry about someone to look after her when I came here. If you didn't accept her in the class, I couldn't attend this class.'

Semira told me: 'Yes, we did both enjoy studying together. When we study together here. Because you helped us with the language and we start from easy English because English is hard to learn and when we start from basic it's really good and when we go home, we practise together and we learn together and that's good.' Semira also told me: 'Yes, it really helped us to practise together and now my daughter can read and speak better than me but when I started, I didn't feel confident and I couldn't read and write in English but now I'm getting it so it's been really good.' At the end of the project one of the key findings which the participants agreed was 'I enjoyed working in my own language with my children in the class'.

The importance of trust and family support

Trust was also an important element within the intergenerational dimension of this work. Not only did the participants put trust in me and in the process of coming to joining the project themselves, they also trusted me and our project enough to bring their children along. The hesitation in Semira bringing her daughter along to the sessions shows that this was an important decision for her. She tried the sessions out by herself first, then after having experienced them and getting to know me and the other participants and seeing what we were doing together she told me in session 9 that next time she would bring her daughter.

For these women I had a strong sense of how supportive their husbands were and the significant impact this had on their ability to come to the sessions. Rushani's husband accompanied his family to the first session and stayed for the remainder of our meeting so he was present while we worked with the interpreters to discuss the details of the research.

All three of the participants' husbands called or texted me at some point during the project to check the arrangements we had made. This additional support was important, and it was good to know the participants had this support at home. It showed me that their husbands were encouraging of the project and of their participation. Lack of family support is recognised as a barrier in the New Scots report (Scottish Government et al., 2017) and I was glad to know the participants did not face this barrier.

I asked about the impact of being the joining family member in the final interview. Semira explained her husband had been in Glasgow four years longer than her. She told me: 'My husband is quite good at English and he's studying too. I don't speak English when I'm with him!' I asked about the impact of this and Yasmine told me: 'for places like the GP or shopping I can do it independently but for other stuff my husband does most of the communication.'

Yasmine felt this was a real source of anxiety and disappointment for her: 'it's been very difficult for me because I've been here for a year and I just try my best to improve my English and I also ask my husband to help me and I use google translate to help me improve my English as fast as possible'. Yasmine told

me she felt ‘very frustrated’ that she needed her husband to communicate for her.

Semira also told me how difficult this was for her too: ‘yes, it’s really difficult and you feel it and you ask yourself when will I be able to speak and really understand? It’s a big pressure’

Yasmine told me: ‘I feel sad and it’s bothering me because I really like to be independent and doing stuff for myself not asking someone to do a favour for me. I really love to improve my English.’

Their determination to come to the sessions and the effort they put into the project gave me the sense of how strong and independent they were and how important they felt it was to improve their English to be able to gain more independence and crucially to be able to speak for themselves.

Conclusions

In this chapter I have discussed the relationships within the project as an ecology in their own right and presented the findings that illustrate the agency of these relationships within our work. I have brought the fragility of these relationships within these tentative few weeks to the fore and explored the ethics of care which underpinned the project. Establishing these relationships necessitated a high level of emotional labour and nurture and was often grounded in moments of ‘unknowingness’ as we relied on communicating with very little shared language. The findings clearly show how fundamental these relationships were and the comfort that the participants took in learning with family members in their own language. The additional trust needed to feel comfortable bringing younger children to the group was clear.

The relationships between the participants and I and between the participants themselves and the ethic of care we embedded from the very beginning formed an essential foundation from which to explore the key themes which I discuss in the following chapters. These were particularly important within the context of family reunion at the point of arrival. Without this trust, mutual consideration and care the project would not have produced such rich findings and the participants may not have been able to participate in this work. In the following

chapter I move from the ecology of these relationships into the physical ecology and the agency of place before moving on to the third ecology of language and ‘languaging’ in Chapter eight.

Chapter Seven

Ecology 2: Place

An ecological approach is where what happens in the classroom responds to aspects of the context and the context is also created out of learning, teaching and language use (Kramsch et al., 2010, p. 8)

Introduction

In this chapter I explore the physical ecology of the project by discussing our work outside the classroom and introducing each of the places the participants and I worked in together and their relevance and agency within the research. I present the themes which emerged and the literature which emerged alongside them by putting an ecological approach into practice, and I consider the interdisciplinary nature of the project by drawing on the fields of intercultural research, human geography and anthropology. The ecology of place is situated within the framework of the three ecologies of relationships, place and language as I explore different understandings of 'environment', 'place' and 'context' within language learning. I then discuss why 'place' has particular agency within the context of New Scots within the first tentative few weeks of adjusting to life in Scotland.

Defining 'place' within an ecological approach

As discussed in Chapter two, the theme of language being connected to the 'environment' and 'context' is present throughout the literature on language ecology. This begins with Haugen's (1972) initial definition of language ecology as 'the study of interactions between any given language and its environment' (p.325). Similarly, van Lier (2006) reminds us that with language 'it's context all the way down' (p.20). Kramsch and Vork Steffensen (2008) also refer to 'holism' as a keyword in ecology and emphasise that 'language is not studied as an isolated, self-contained system, but rather in its natural surroundings, i.e. in relation to the personal, situational, cultural, and societal factors that collectively shape the production and evolution of language' (p.18).

There is a strong emphasis on this interconnectedness and the relationship between language and 'context'. Through the process of carrying out the fieldwork I began to consider how understandings of 'context' and 'environment' might differ and how the project could remain true to Haugen's definition of the 'social and natural environment' (Haugen, 1972, p. 325) as a understanding of the physical place in which language learning is situated.

In ESOL settings, where learners are living in the host community and need English to be able to communicate every day, contextualising language learning to learners' lives is seen as necessary and important. This is shown for example through the availability of ESOL courses which are vocationally specific for particular work contexts. In Scotland, the Scottish Qualifications Authority provides learning materials which are created specifically for the Scottish context by using Scottish place names and Scottish culture as a basis for learning. 'Context' is used in a very general sense within theory and research about language learning and encompasses a variety of understandings and perspectives for example social, political, geographical, institutional, or individual contexts.

In this chapter I explore an understanding of 'environment' as 'place', grounded in human geography as the physical context in which the learning is situated. This understanding of 'place' allows for the weather, the walk, the park, the greenery, the scenery, the 'Dear Green Place' of Glasgow and the connections that people make with place in a human and embodied way rather than an understanding of 'context' which may incorporate aspects of integration linked to supporting people to access and manage the system of integration in navigating benefits, work or study options. The goals of 'work', 'study' or 'progression' are difficult to reach within these first tentative weeks adjusting to a new physical environment when people face challenges with a different climate and finding their way around a new city.

The two-way reciprocal relationship between language and environment offers an understanding of the agency that the physical ecology has on language learning and is particularly relevant within the context of New Scots. I found within the fieldwork that there was a necessary but often overlooked stage of settling in which may not be encompassed within current understandings of

‘integration’ and the findings point to the need for orientation style activities based on and connected to ‘place’.

Such an understanding of ‘place’ as a physical environment incorporates elements of embodiment and sensory experience. It allows for ‘languaging’ (Phipps & Gonzalez, 2004) within the physical environment, in this case Glasgow, a superdiverse and multilingual city, and gives scope to recognise language learning as a dynamic process in which there is a reciprocal relationship between place and language. Phipps (2009) notes how the concept of ‘languaging’, which I explore in full in Chapter eight, is different from learning in classroom contexts to ‘the effort of being a person in that language in the social and material world of everyday interactions’ (p. 661).

The learning takes place ‘out there’ as ‘language being learned in the whole social world, not just in the classroom’ (Phipps, 2008, p. 222). This understanding of the agency of place also has implications for how we understand ‘integration’ and what is needed to support the human aspect of settling in and making this new physical setting feel like ‘home’. To return to the idea of this study as a tale of decolonising which I began the previous chapter with; ‘any decolonising foreign language learning endeavour worth its salt will need to remember the intimate connections between land, language and its need of the air for speech, anywhere to find articulation’ (Phipps, 2019b, p. 8). Over the course of the project, I begun to consider these connections to the physical environment in more detail and I turned to human geography to explore this theme.

Human geography and the making of a new home as New Scots

> *Language can be conceptualised as a space of belonging in itself, providing a sense of being ‘at home’, and lending articulation to all of the emotions that go alongside such a sensibility*
> *(Shuttleworth, 2018, p. 21)*

In Chapter one, I explored the policy context for ‘integration’ and the need for refugees to ‘integrate’ into the host society. The ‘indicators of integration’ (Ager & Strang, 2004), on which the New Scots Strategy (Scottish Government,

2018) is based, recognises the importance of cultural knowledge. This process of orientation and settling in also incorporates aspects of liminality, as refugees enter a space between the known and the not yet known, necessitating elements of identity reconstruction in linguistic and cultural terms. Understood in more human terms, integration is about more than getting to grips with structures and functioning within society, it includes adjusting to a new climate, a new landscape, a new physical environment perhaps in the way that Haugen initially described.

In considering 'place' I draw on ideas from human geography and in particular the work of Kale et al. (2019) in New Zealand and their exploration of multisensory experiences through which former refugee and host society residents develop, maintain, negotiate, and co-construct feelings of homeliness in Wellington, Aotearoa New Zealand. Understandings of 'home' have become increasingly significant within responses to the international humanitarian crisis (Kibreab, 2003). Kale et al. (2019) note how the need to belong and to feel at home in a known social and geographic space is fundamental to identity. For refugees, many of whom have experienced war, oppression, and poverty, the need to feel at home is a 'primary yearning' (Kale et al., 2019, p. 2).

The sense of liminality and identity reconstruction I explore in Chapter three is also present in Shuttleworth's (2018) work on language geographies of refugees in Glasgow: 'for refugees and asylum-seekers, there is often a question of affiliating with 'here' or 'there', with destination or origin places' (p. 79). There is a duality within this understanding of home. Shuttleworth (2018) notes how 'migrants in the process of settling in a new country are arguably stuck between the past and the present' (p. 79) as they connect their previous home with the new home within their host country.

For refugees, familiarity and knowledge of place is based on 'feelings of attachment as they build familiarity with an environment, developing a sense of place through regular bodily interactions with it'(Kale et al., 2019, p. 2). Ahmed (1999) suggests that the act of leaving a home creates a duality which includes the place of origin and also the current context. The process of finding others who have similar experiences of leaving home and 'becoming a stranger' leads to the creation of a new 'community of strangers', who share a common bond of

adjusting to the host community (Ahmed, 1999). ‘The forming of a new community provides a sense of fixity through the language of heritage – a sense of inheriting a collective past by sharing the lack of a home rather than sharing a home’ (Ahmed, 1999, p. 336). Butler and Spivak (2007) note how people seeking asylum are living in parallel realities, being here and also being there, a process of ‘belonging and not yet belonging’ (Pöyhönen, Kokkonen, Tarnanen, & Lappalainen, 2020, p. 59). This sense of belonging is understood as ‘the multiple, constructed and contested relationships with people and places’ (Pöyhönen et al., 2020, p. 59).

This new home and new community are also experienced in linguistic terms. It is these connections to each other, to the place and to language which are fundamental to an ‘ecologising’ of language learning as ‘people seek out places and experiences where they feel as though they are connected to something beyond themselves’ (Kale et al., 2019, p. 2), where they feel safe, secure, and valued.

As the participants and I worked together and as our relationships developed, we became a community in our own right, closely connected to the place in which our learning and relationship building took place. In linguistic terms, acknowledging this liminality, this embedded ‘being here and also being there’ meant connecting our learning to the participants’ own languages and home countries by bringing these comparisons and connections into the learning process as much as possible by talking about differences and similarities when working on food, weather, buses, tickets and different ways to travel. Working in this way brought the idea of place as an important part of identity into our learning alongside language. In the following section I consider our key ‘places’ and how these were brought into our work in a meaningful way.

Combining project and place

As I explored in Chapter five, holding the learning sessions at the University was a barrier for some participants due to the need to travel on the bus and find the building. For Rushani, Semira, Lakmini and Yasmine, it was a marker of their investment in the project. Often the weather was challenging. It was dark and cold with very heavy rain on several occasions. They often told me they felt cold

even though I always made sure the room was well heated for their arrival. Trying to mitigate physical discomfort was an important part of supporting the participants to attend, underpinned by the ethics of care outlined in Chapter six.

Although the University was not as convenient as the city centre BRC office might have been, it brought us other opportunities due to its physical location. During the interviews I sensed their pride at taking part at a class within the University and I felt this contributed to their investment in the sessions. Perhaps this also encouraged a sense of belonging to Glasgow as a place and connected us to the University as a place to come for other courses/activities in future. The proximity to other places of local interest was also important as we could leave the School of Education and be at the Hunterian, Kelvingrove park or Kelvingrove Museum within a ten-minute walk (even when walking at the pace of a 5-year old).

In the pilot study I described the significance of place, the situated context of the project, from initially meeting at the BRC offices in the centre of Glasgow, the journey to the bus stop, traveling on the bus to the University, trying out the children's literature library and then settling on Room 347 as our preferred learning space. As I explored in Chapter five, the BRC office where we met on the first day of the pilot was a starting point for the journey to the University and for our project and, as such, it can be viewed as a liminal space between just having arrived in Scotland and embarking on the journey of the project together. With its initial support services, the BRC office is associated with those challenging first few steps between the old and the new. As the project progressed, I considered whether meeting at the University helped with the sense of moving away from that initial stage. As we moved into the main project the theme of the physical ecology and the agency of place remained central. The key places in the main study became:

- The participants' home countries brought into the learning space through the medium of the participants' own languages. This allowed us to connect with the idea of 'home' as a physical place from which to know this new place
- The BRC Office on Sauchiehall Street

- The children's literature library in the School of Education, Glasgow University
- Room 347 in the School of Education; the home of our classroom-based learning
- Kelvingrove Park
- Kelvingrove Museum
- The UNESCO RILA Spring School at Heart of Scotstoun Community Centre
- The Hunterian Museum
- The University and Cloisters
- The bus stop on Eldon Street

These places are set within the wider ecology of Glasgow, within the context of the participants' lives and their journey through family reunion to be reunited with family members here in Glasgow. Although these are local places, they are set within the national and global contexts and are linked and interdependent as part of an ecological understanding of 'place'. The connection between the global and the local is also fundamental to the CPAR approach outlined in Chapter three.

Situating the learning within Glasgow in an obvious way was important and this was supported by taking our learning out of the classroom as much as possible. This was fundamental in terms of language learning, it also introduced participants to places of local interest that they could visit with their families to support the New Scots theme of 'integration from day one' (Scottish Government, 2018) and help them to contextualise their lives here. It made the learning specific to the physical ecology of Glasgow with its place names which are unique and difficult for non-Glaswegians to know how to pronounce and spell e.g. Sauchiehall Street, Buccleuch Street, Buchanan Street. This also fitted well with the CPAR approach and the orientation style activities the participants requested.

We chose local places to visit by looking at leaflets, maps and checking online together. To facilitate our learning outside the classroom, we sometimes needed to change the day we met as the museums were closed on Mondays. Their enthusiasm to do this echoes Norton's 'investment' (2013) and also the mutual respect discussed in Chapter five as it required everyone to turn up on time. We

also had to work together to make arrangements which necessitated good communication. In the following section, I highlight the key themes which emerged and explore how these were woven throughout the fabric of the project.

Figure 7 - Photos and maps used to show local places of interest

Ritual, familiarity, and place

In Chapter six I discussed the importance of ritual and familiarity in terms of the ecology of our relationship and how I found it important that the participants knew what to expect from each session. I found this also extended to the physical location of our learning sessions and that learning in a familiar place supported our learning. The stability and consistency of being in room 347, at the same time, with the same people, each week was important. On the two occasions we needed to change rooms this caused great confusion.

When I made the room bookings for the sessions it was difficult to secure the same room each week. On two occasions when this was not possible I booked the closest room to 347, texted the participants in advance and arrived early to ensure I could show the participants where to go. My fieldnotes from session 11, reflect the impact of this change of place.

Our usual room was not available today due to the exam timetable. I booked the closest available room, three doors along the corridor, put a note on the door to our usual room with an arrow and left the door open so I could hear if anyone arrived late. I knew they might not read the note but the combination of this, the text messages and my listening and watching for their arrival, I hoped would resolve any confusion.

After setting up the new room, at 4pm I went back to room 347 to find Rushani, Yasmine and Rana waiting for me. I explained the room change and took them to the new room. Semira had not arrived so I kept popping out into the corridor to check for her which felt disruptive to the session. The new room did not have a kettle or sink, so I used the staff kitchen to make drinks at break time but Rushani and Lakmini seemed disappointed that the learning environment was not the comfortable space they are used to, which has started to feel like home to us. I am not sure what happened to Semira today. I don't know if she arrived and left due to the change in room and not being able to find us.

The room change seemed disruptive and it took time for Rushani and Yasmine to adjust. The fact they had both gone into room 347 and expected to have our session there despite text messages and a note on the door highlights the high levels of support needed at this stage that I identified in the previous chapter. This was also the first and only session that Rushani attended without her daughter and despite the confusion with the room she did very well to attend this session, having travelled alone and negotiated the room change and then participating in the session with only Yasmine, her daughter and me. Their commitment to attend the sessions despite these challenges again underlined their investment in our work.

In Chapter six I also discussed the importance of the kettle and making hot drinks together at the start of each session. This ritual connected us to the feeling of room 347 being our physical 'home' for the learning sessions, the importance of which Kale et al. (2019) recognise within human geography and refugee resettlement. The idea of feeling of 'at home' is also associated with embodied, sensory experiences such as making coffee to enable a feeling of familiarity through 'sensory stimuli that provoke memories or positive associations'(Kale et al., 2019, p. 7). By making tea and coffee together we connected this ritual to which hot drink everyone drank in their home country and how these drinks were made. I learnt the importance of coffee and coffee making in Eritrea from Semira and tea in Sri Lanka from Rushani and Lakmini. These simple rituals incorporated all of our senses; touching, tasting, smelling, seeing, and hearing which served as a 'link to familiarity and security of home(lands) and also provide comfort, building on a homely sense of community and belonging through recollection and remembrance' (Kale et al., 2019, p. 3).

The importance of such associations cannot be overlooked in making people feel at home as part of a more human understanding of integration way from ‘day one’.

Shuttleworth (2018) notes the significance of these embodied experiences and how connecting such experiences to pre-migration lives becomes important as refugees and asylum-seekers’ settle into their new communities. Shuttleworth (2018) also notes that spaces in which such gatherings take place can be viewed as a ‘space of care’, helping to overcome community boundaries and providing a space in which to share and learn about others (Conradson, 2003; Piacentini, 2008 cited in Shuttleworth, 2018). This ‘space of care’ provided a physical context within which to situate the ethics of care explored in Chapter six.

In Chapter three I introduced the concept of liminality as a state of ‘betwixt and between’, a concept which is clear here as the participants adjusted to the idea of a new home within which connections are made to the rituals of their former homes. Turner (1969) extends the concept of liminality to include ‘communitas’, which sees society as ‘unstructured or rudimentarily structured and relatively undifferentiated’ as it ‘emerges recognizably in the liminal period’ whilst sharing a common experience through a rite of passage. The concept of ‘communitas’ connects to the balance of power and the mutuality within the ecology of our relationship in Chapter six and the mutuality of our languaging in Chapter eight. Turner (1969) notes how ‘each individual’s life experience contains alternating exposure to structure and communitas, and to states and transitions’ (p.361). This ‘communitas’ within a liminal phase where social structure is disrupted was present within the decolonising, collaborative approach we took as it disrupted the balance of power and was clearly shown in Semira’s observations that her and I were ‘the same’ and ‘equal’ that I discuss in Chapter eight.

Shuttleworth (2018) found understandings of home to be fluid and dynamic within the context of refugee integration and that as a result people find multiple sites of belonging, which may not necessarily be their ‘homes’ and may instead be other places where they are able to share aspects of their identities. Our work together encouraged a sense of belonging to the physical ecology and to the ecology of our relationship within the unstructured, liminal communitas

that Turner (1969) describes. All of these aspects were grounded in increasing familiarity and settling in. Van Lier (2004b) also recognises this process of adapting to a host community within an ecological approach noting the impact this has on identity; ‘when people find themselves in a new culture with a new language, they need to develop new identities to reconnect their deep sense of self to the new surroundings’ (p.96) .

Session content as orientation

In the initial information session, interviews and ongoing dialogue the participants confirmed that they wanted to explore the local area and that practical topics were what they needed. In interview 2, Semira told me she needed help with language for ‘everyday life’ and I was careful to make these experiences as authentic as possible rather than working solely within the ‘ecological niche’ (Kramsch et al., 2010) of the classroom. There is safety and security in the haven of room 347 with its coffee, warmth and biscuits and our comfortable small group, but this work also needed to be balanced with trying out ‘languaging’ within the places we selected to visit together. In each interview the participants reiterated that practical, orientation style topics were what they needed. Rushani and Lakmini told me they needed ‘basic information, you’ve taught us how to get the bus, how to go to the doctor, we are comfortable with these topics.’

At the end of each meeting, I asked the participants whether the session was useful for them. I recognise that this was a limited way of gaining meaningful feedback due to our limited shared language; however, it contributed to my overall impression of whether they were enjoying the sessions and reinforced the role of collaboration in deciding the content of the sessions whilst feeding into the CPAR spiral. During the group interview at the end of the pilot I asked whether this approach was useful, and the participants confirmed that these were topics they needed. Rushani told me; ‘Yes, it’s very practical.’ The Tamil interpreter continued; ‘they’re going on the bus and they don’t know how to buy a ticket or how to talk to the driver…for example, I’m going to this place. I need a ticket to…which type of ticket?’ Cultural differences were also highlighted as a learning point as the participants told me in Sri Lanka return tickets do not exist and they expected to buy a single ticket for each journey. This highlighted the

importance of having someone to ask about such matters at this stage of settling into their new lives.

Acclimatising to a Glaswegian climate as orientation to 'place'

Weather, and challenges with weather, formed a key theme in our work and presented genuine difficulties for the participants when travelling to and from our sessions. It was frequently cold, wet and dark when we met. Throughout the project we often talked about the weather by way of introduction at the start of our meetings. On several afternoons we had extremely heavy rain and the participants arrived soaked and windswept. Arriving at our usual room and feeling comfortable enough to remove wet layers of coats and scarves and dry them on radiators in our all-female group showed the impact and discomfort caused by a climate that is very different to their home countries. We quickly covered a variety of language to describe the weather, heavy rain, drizzle, dreich, windy, stormy, cold, brighter, lighter, warmer. The shift in the language needed as the weeks went on, and we moved from winter to spring to summer mirrored the changes in weather outside in our physical place. We experienced these changes as an 'embodied geography' (Kale et al., 2019) as Gibson reminds us, 'one sees the environment not just with the eyes but with the eyes on the head on the shoulders of the body that gets about' (Gibson 1979, quoted in Woitsch, 2011, p. 207). Such things can only be experienced as embodiment as they incorporate the use of all senses in *seeing* the darkness as we waited for the bus, *feeling* the cold wind on our faces, the rain against our skin and the *smell* of the grass being cut as we walked across the park together. We *watched* the rain from the classroom as we *listened* to it hammering so loudly against the window one afternoon that we could not hear each other speak in any language. The significance of these embodied experiences of place and the impression made by them is mirrored in the first two lines of the Spring School poem (shown in full under 'the Spring School'):

'Scotland

Cold, dark and wet'

By the last weeks of the project, it was no longer dark when we finished our sessions. The passage of time from winter to summer, albeit a Glaswegian

summer where coats are still necessary, also mirrored the easing of the participants' process of settling in, adjusting identities as a liminal process. By summer they had become more familiar with their surroundings and the journey. It was warmer and lighter and being in Glasgow, in this new place, was also now easier as they had started to become more acclimatised to life here, to the place and the climate.

The idea that intercultural language learning is not detached from being and living in this world is a key premise of Woitsch's (2012) research: 'Walking through the Intercultural Field' and it connects with the question Tim Ingold (2011) raises in his book; 'Being Alive. Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description':

> Why do we acknowledge only our textual sources but not the ground we walk, the ever-changing skies, mountains and rivers, rocks and trees, the houses we inhabit and the tools we use, not to mention the innumerable companions, both non-human animals and fellow humans, with which and with whom we share our lives? They are constantly inspiring us, challenging us, telling us things (Ingold, 2011, p. xii).

Our experiences of learning ecologically acknowledge the significance of the physical aspects that Ingold describes and I found these to be parallel to Haugen's description of 'physical environment', particularly in terms of the interconnectedness between mind and nature which Ingold describes:

> Experience, therefore, cannot mediate between mind and nature, since these are not separated in the first place. It is rather intrinsic to the ongoing process of being alive to the world, of the person's total sensory involvement in an environment' (Ingold, 2011, p. 99).

Our total sensory participation was part of our embodied experience. It was part of 'languaging'. We were indeed 'alive in the world' ourselves, as an intrinsic part of the physical ecology.

Mobility and embodiment

We also connected to the outside world by travelling together. This process of not only *being* in the physical ecology but travelling together within in it mirrors Woitsch's 2012 study referred to above. Woitsch (2012) refers to the appropriacy of 'ethnography on foot' as a method for intercultural work as it 'underlines those moments of intercultural learning which are centred in orientation' for example 'the first strolls in an unknown town; walking with maps in search of specific places; or moments of getting lost and suddenly remembering the way' (p. 187). These mobile, intercultural experiences grounded in orientation and sensing were highly relevant to our work.

Our mobile research extended beyond the 'ethnography on foot' which Woitsch (2012) describes, to 'ethnography by bus' and, on one occasion, 'ethnography by taxi.' These experiences became an embodied way of learning, being, communicating and interacting with the physical ecology. These methods became our way of knowing each of the places and understanding their physical location and how to get from each of these places to the other. These shared experiences bonded us a group for example on the walk back across the park from Kelvingrove Museum when Semira shouted at Yasmine's daughter as she ran off into the distance (Chapter six).

Incorporating such methods gave us insight 'into the way people and place combine' (Moles, 2008, p. 31). Perhaps due to the lack of verbal language and the embodied clues needed for us to communicate in the place of verbal language this was particularly evident in our work. We were all physically in the space in which we were working, both in the classroom and also on the bus, standing, walking, waiting, seeing, smiling, being physically present together.

In describing 'the intercultural body', Woitsch (2012) notes that the significance of the learner's relationship to her or his learning environment significantly exceeds Kramsch's understanding of it as external stimuli (2009) and brings us back to an understanding of physical place as an agentic factor within language learning. The 'physicality of the experience', which Kramsch (2009) highlights, corresponds with Woitsch's perspective on the 'intercultural body', and points towards the significance of embodied experiences within language learning and the connections to place.

Layered simultaneity and connecting to place

Kelvingrove Museum, Session 11

Everyone arrived on time and seemed keen to go to Kelvingrove today. This was important as our time was limited between the children finishing school and the museum closing at 5pm.

We walk across the park together on a beautiful sunny afternoon, chatting as much as we can. We notice the blossom, how green the grass is, the trees, and the squirrels and give the word for these in each of our languages. I explain that it's a 5-minute walk across the park and check that this is ok. I hold up my fingers to indicate 'five' and try to remember the word in Tigrinya, Farsi, and Tamil. For once it isn't raining and we all laugh about how much rain we have had on Monday afternoons. We turn along Kelvin Way and along the road which takes us to the back of Kelvingrove, it has only taken us a few minutes. I open the door to the museum for them.

I stand back as we enter the beautiful main hall and watch Semira, Lakmini, Rushani, Yasmine and her daughter all look up and around smiling and taking in the new surroundings. I point out the organ on the first floor. I pick up floor plans from the information desk and give them to everyone.

(Kelvingrove provides information booklets in other languages but not in Tamil, Tigrinya, or Farsi. Glasgow Life also has 'Away for the Day' booklets to introduce families to Glasgow's museums. At the time of writing these are available in Arabic, Urdu, English, Mandarin, Polish, Punjabi, and Romanian.)

The central hall is taken up by 'Dippy' the diplodocus who is currently on loan to Kelvingrove and we start our exploration here. Our communication is limited but I feel we're enjoying being here together and I hope that this will introduce them to Kelvingrove so they know how to get here, it's free to get in, when it is open and that it's good for families and adults too. One of the staff asks if we would like her to take a photo of us all together in front of Dippy and we all crowd in together to do this.

Figure 8 - Kelvingrove Museum

We have prepared for our visit today by talking about what we might see inside Kelvingrove. I simplify the contents of the museum and indicate that upstairs are 'paintings' and downstairs are 'animals' for the purposes of choosing where to go next. I show the different items in each area of the museum using the floor plan and ask 'what would you like to see?' Rana wants to see the animals and Lakmini wants to see the paintings, so we agree to start on the ground floor and then go upstairs. We walk into the 'natural history' section on the ground floor and see 'Roger' the stuffed elephant. Yasmine uses her phone to ask me, typing in Farsi and then translating into English: 'is it real?' I check the word for 'stuffed' in Farsi and show her. It is hard to explain any of the exhibits in any of our languages so we spend most of the time looking and sharing the experience of being in this place together for the first time.

Anyone who has visited Kelvingrove knows what an eclectic mix of treasure it contains. I watch their reactions and quietly notice if they are enjoying the experience. I am careful to step back and see which exhibits they are interested in rather than lead.

We head upstairs to look at some of the paintings and look down over the balcony to the room below with all the head sculptures suspended from the ceiling. 'Faces' Lakmini says, 'yes!' I say. We each choose which is our favourite and try to explain why we like it.

There is a sense of comfort and companionship despite our limited ways of communicating. This languaging, this trans-languaging takes place here in this

place, outside the classroom. I notice a couple watching us as we work between Tamil, Tigrinya, Farsi, and English with me in the middle.

Everyone agrees that Kelvingrove is beautiful. Yasmine types in Farsi into her phone and tells me 'I will come back with my husband'. Good! I tell her, smiling and nodding. Semira and Rushani agree they will come back too.

The museum is starting to close and we are asked to leave. We head downstairs and back out the other side of Kelvingrove Museum onto Argyle Street, facing Kelvin Hall. I point to Kelvin Hall and explain it is for sport. We take a photo together in front of the museum and I send it to Semira, Rushani and Yasmine on WhatsApp. They receive it straight away and seem pleased to have it. I hope they can use this to show their husbands, their friends and maybe come back together.

Figure 9 - Outside Kelvingrove Museum

We begin walking along Kelvin Way just as the bells at the University chapel start to ring out at 5pm. Semira grabs my arm in excitement and exclaims 'Sarah! Church!' and then she points to me. 'Yes – University Church' I tell her, she tells me the word in Tigrinya 'ቤተ ክርስትያን beete krstyan'. *She is telling me she is Christian, I think. This is important to her, she wants me to know this*

part of her identity. It also connects her life, her religion to this place. It contextualises this place for her in a way that is personal and meaningful.

(Fieldnotes, session 11)

Semira telling me that there is a church is significant. Kale et al.(2019) recognise the need to create familiarity and to connect the previous known place with the new. At this stage, Semira's vocabulary in English was limited to just a few words of very basic greetings and a handful of words for food and basic communication. It is significant that she knew the word for 'church' in English and that she wanted to tell me she knew this, noticing the sound of the church bells within the physical place. This echoes the 'layered simultaneity' shown in the lithograph in Chapter two to illustrate 'layers of historicity and identity, as well as presentness in every utterance' (van Lier, 2010, p. 3). Kramsch (2008) also recognises that meaning is 'multiscalar', 'reflexive' and 'historically contingent'.

Within an ecological approach language is connected not only to the physical environment, it is 'the enactment, re-enactment, or even stylized enactment of past language practices, the replay of cultural memory, and the rehearsal of potential identities' (Kramsch, 2008, p. 400) Kramsch (2008) notes that such encounters are not 'discrete, bounded events' but instead are 'open-ended and unfinalizable patterns in a web of past and future encounters' (p.392). Semira's utterance connects not only to the here and now but to the cultural memory to which Kramsch refers.

Semira's utterance contains several layers of meaning, it connects this place to her previous place and lets me know that she knows this word in English. She knows this is a church, she recognises the sound of the bells ringing within this new landscape and importantly she wants to share this with me. She looks at me 'Sarah – church' and her meaning is ambiguous to me at first. At first, she is telling me that she has noticed the church and she then repeats the words again with raised intonation, pointing to me. 'Sarah – church? 'Yes' I say. Is she asking me if that *is* a church? Or is it more personal, is she asking if I *go* to church? If this place has significance for me to? It is important for her that I know that she knows what this sound is and it seems she is seeking to find the common ground between us in terms of whether I also go to church, echoing the concepts of

Butler's (2005) ways of 'knowing' each other explored in the previous chapter. Kale et al. (2019) found that such 'multi-layered connections enabled individuals to (re)construct cultural identities in their new city, which was significant in enhancing a sense of homeliness and belonging' (p.1). The physical gesture of grabbing my arm highlights our embodied way of being together in this space, the growing sense of trust and familiarity between us and the 'intercultural body' which Woitsch (2012) describes.

The layered simultaneity here also connects to Pennycook and Otsuji's (2014) idea of spatial repertoires, which Canagarajah (2017) expands to include 'spatiotemporal repertoires' (Levine, 2020). Levine (2020) notes how language is dependent upon both spatial and temporal context which includes the person, place, time and purpose of the interaction. Rather than being individual, biographical, or something that people possess, 'repertoires are better considered as an emergent property deriving from the interactions between people, artefacts, and space' (Pennycook, 2016, quoted in Levine, 2020, p.41). I find this also to echo the literature on identity explored in Chapter two as it considers identity not only in terms of *who* we are to each other, but also who we are in this place, this context, at this particular moment.

Kale et al. (2019) recognise that 'the aim of resettlement should not be to encourage former refugees to simply start over and create new attachments to a new place, but to enable them to mediate between past, present, and future experiences, needs, and desires so that they can maintain valued aspects of their identity, manage grief, and regain a sense of safety and stability' (p.3). The process of connecting old and new, known, and not yet known runs throughout the project and is mirrored within the ecology of language in the next chapter as we connected known language with new language through our multilingual practices.

Bringing the outside in

Just as it was important to create a comfortable, well supported place in which to hold our learning sessions it was also important to connect this classroom based learning with the physical ecology in a meaningful way. This meant preparing for our classroom trips in advance by supporting the participants with useful vocabulary, showing images of what to expect and then reviewing and

learning from these experiences once we returned inside. It was important to make the connections between the classroom-based learning and the physical ecology as direct as possible. The extract from my fieldnotes below illustrates how we connected our work inside the classroom with the physical ecology through our trip to Kelvingrove Museum.

Session 11

We started this session by chatting about our trip to Kelvingrove last week. I ask 'where did we go? What did we see?' Everyone is engaged with this activity and can tell me 'Kelvingrove Museum'. We go over to the window and look out across the park towards the museum to confirm the direction we took last week.

We stand at the whiteboard together with board pens and make a multilingual list of everything we can remember from the museum with the children drawing pictures when they don't have the word. This openness to recall the items in whatever mode suits each person best works well and we quickly have a long list on the board. When a word is unknown we check using the computer or phones to translate from Tigrinya, Farsi, and Tamil:

- *Museum*
- *Faces - big faces*
- *Elephant – stuffed – 'Roger'*
- *Animals*
- *Birds*
- *Dinosaur - Dippy*
- *Paintings - lots of paintings*
- *Shoe – big shoe*
- *Elvis*
- *Tiger*
- *Mummy*
- *Piano – organ*
- *Fossils*
- *Plane*
- *Big eggs*

Through this activity, we piece together an account of our trip, a picture of Kelvingrove through their eyes. I am impressed by how much they had taken in and I felt this confirmed the trip as a worthwhile activity. 'What did you like?' I ask and we each make sentences and ask each other this simple question. Lakmini tells us she liked the paintings, Yasmine's daughter liked Dippy and the animals. Semira liked the paintings too.

(Fieldnotes, session 11)

Preparing to take the inside back out again

Session 9

We discuss the upcoming event, the University 'Refugee Integration through Language and the Arts' (RILA) Spring School and use a previous activity on dates/times as a basis to check arrangements for meeting. I write the meeting place, date, day, and time on the board and take Rushani, Semira ,Lakmini, Yasmine and her daughter downstairs to the entrance to show them exactly where to meet.

We move on to work on developing a poem for the Spring School based on the topics we have worked on for the past few weeks and the Spring School themes of 'Labour and Resting' which we interpret into the labour of learning a language. I take their comments and the key themes from the interviews as a starting point and we weave together the lines to create a poem in all of our languages. We call it 'Learning a language is hard work'.

(Fieldnotes, session 9)

In addition to the multilingual poem, we also plan to hold a 'languages café' as part of the Spring School workshop with Semira, Rushani and Lakmini taking turns to teach a few key phrases in Tamil and Tigrinya. We prepare for this by taking turns being the 'teacher', coming to sit in the seat where I usually sit and teaching each other the phrases we have prepared together in Farsi, Tamil, and Tigrinya:

My name is

What is your name?

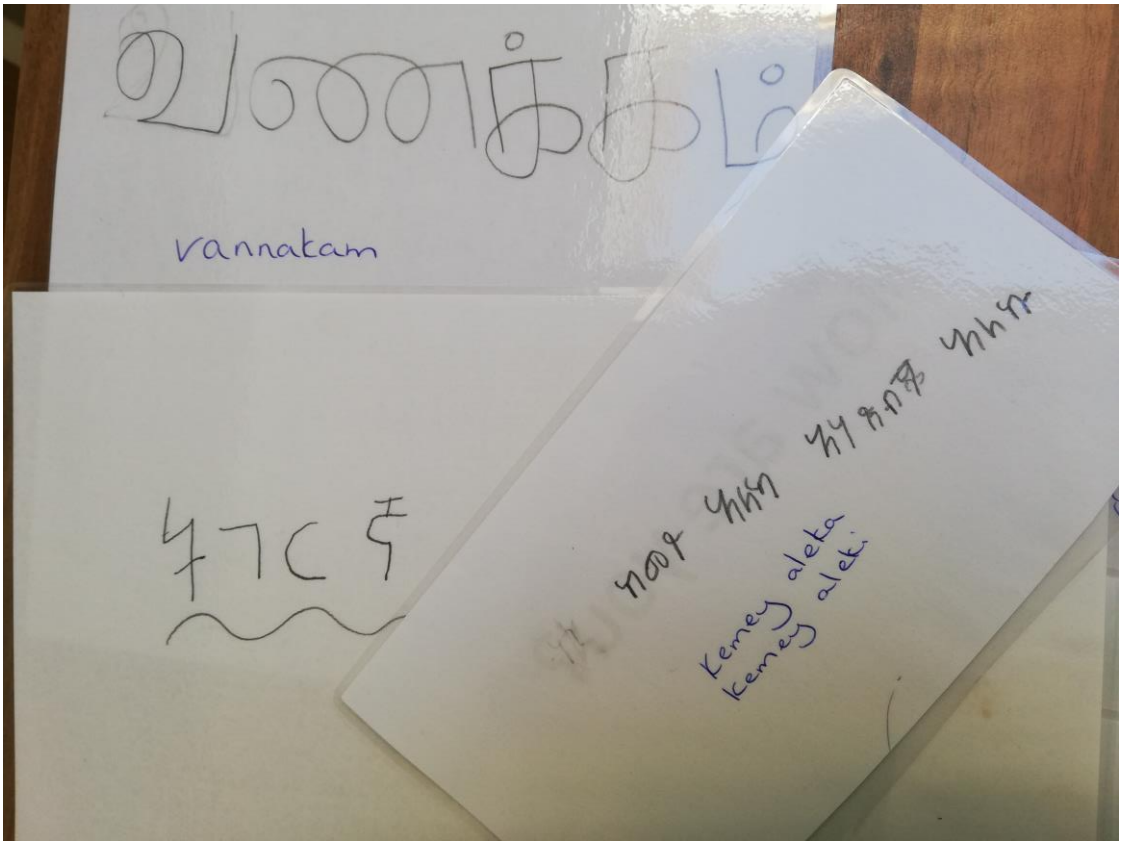
I am from

Where are you from?

I speak…

Which languages do you speak?

For my own benefit I write down a transliteration so I can remember how to pronounce each of these phrases in Tamil, Tigrinya, and Farsi, even though Yasmine won't be there we want her language to be represented. Together we create sheets with the names of their languages which I laminate for us to use as a warm-up activity at the workshop.



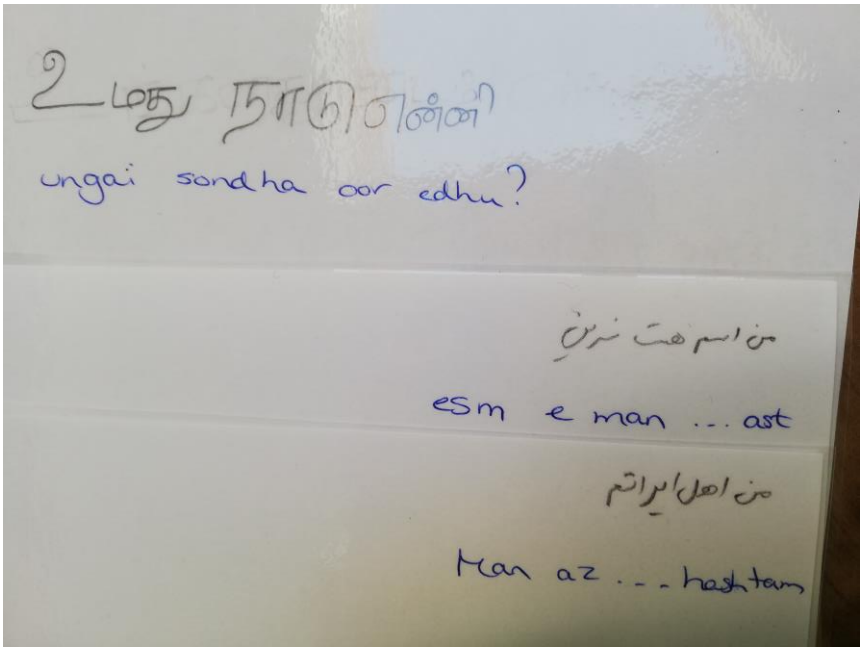


Figure 10 - Prompt cards for the Spring School workshop

I cut and paste the lines into one piece of work. Awet has drawn a butterfly for us to add to the poem. I remind everyone of the meeting arrangements for the Spring School again as this is the last time we will meet before the event. Rushani and Lakmini seem clear on this, but I can see that Semira is unsure. This is made more confusing as it's another bank holiday next Monday and I explain we can't have a class then as the building will be closed again. They seem disappointed. I call Semira the next morning to check in with her.

Through the BRC interpreting service, my conversation with Semira goes as follows:

'Selam Semira! It's Sarah! Kemey aleka? How are you?

Aaaaah Selam Sarah! I'm fine. Kemey aleka? How are you? I hear Semira smile down the phone when she recognises my voice, she sounds pleased to hear from me.

I then ask the interpreter to explain that we are going to the Spring School together on Thursday morning and that we will meet downstairs at the entrance to the School of Education at 9am. Everyone needs to be there on time. Is that ok?

I hear Semira smile again down the phone when she understands the details which were not clear before. Sometimes her daughter will answer the phone for

her, but she knows my number now and answers my calls herself. I don't know if this is because she knows it is me or because I can bring an interpreter into the call if needed.

Semira thanks me for calling and tells me that she understood about the Spring School but wasn't sure of the time or where we should meet. She says she's looking forward to it and she's glad I called. I ask the interpreter to tell her that I'm glad she is going to come and that I'm really looking forward to going there together.

This interaction underlines the mutual care and respect that we had for each other, the ongoing emotional labour which underpinned our work, the need for a multilingual approach and the high levels of support needed at this stage to be able to facilitate our learning. This was particularly true when we needed to change plans or make plans which were different to meeting at 4pm on Mondays in room 347. This was a key part of the orientation style activities to situate the learning.

The Spring School

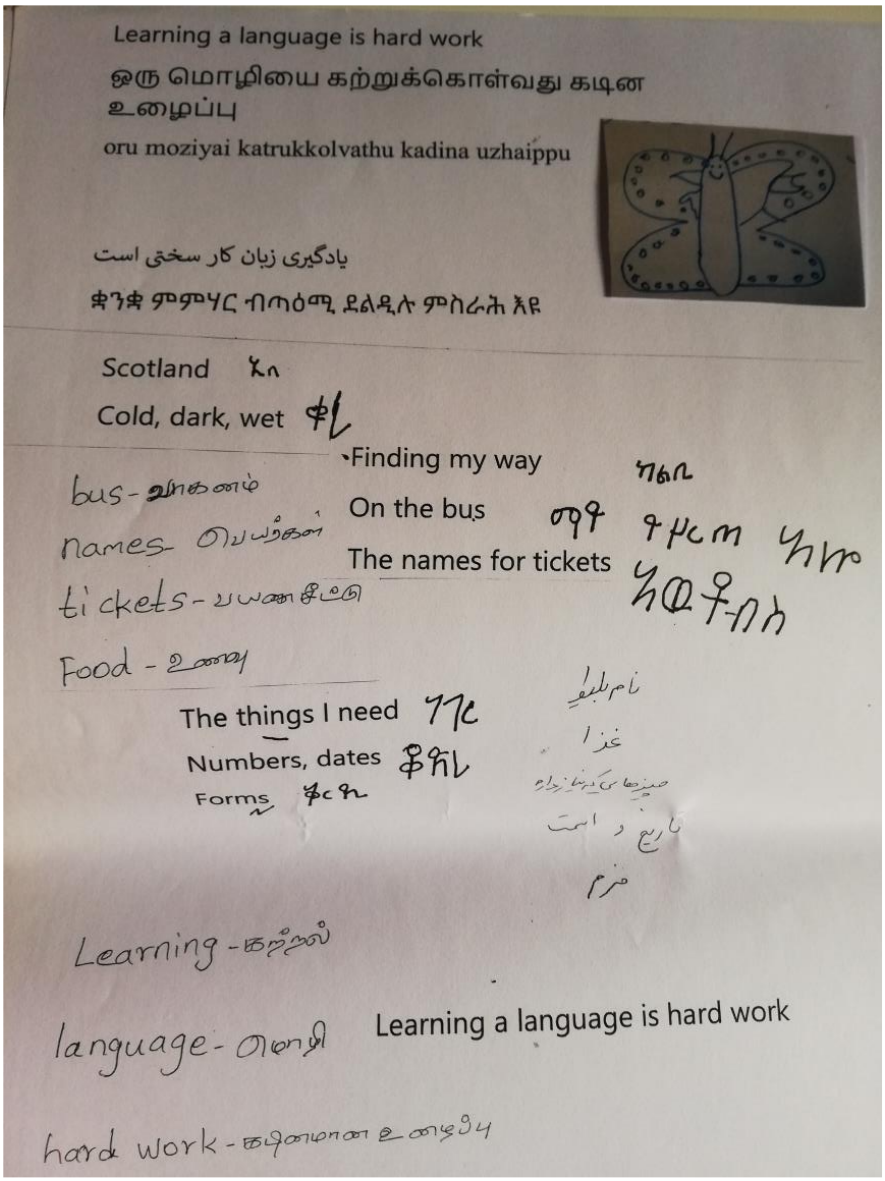


Figure 11 - The Spring School poem

9am Thursday 2nd May 2019

It is a beautiful sunny morning on what will become a warm bright day. I have arranged to meet Semira, Rushani and Lakmini at the School of Education at 9am so we can travel to the Spring School together.

Today is the first time we have arranged to meet in the morning and on a Thursday, which meant explaining a different day, time and meeting point and a trip to an organised event. I am hoping that they come today as I want them to be part of the workshop and take their part in sharing our project.

I go upstairs to the office and take the travel tokens from my desk drawer. I have booked a taxi for 9.15 to take us to the Spring School. As I plan to stay at the event for the rest of the day, I will take Semira, Rushani and Lakmini to the bus stop and show them how to get back. Lakmini has college at 1pm at Anniesland Campus so if there is time, I will take her there and then return to the Spring School after lunch. The event in in Scotstoun in the west of the city, none of the participants have been there before.

I carry the box of materials down the steps, out into the beautiful sunny morning and I wait at the entrance.

No one arrives

At 9.10am the taxi arrives, and I explain to the driver that I am waiting for the others, he agrees to wait for everyone to arrive.

I wait...I wonder if they will come. They are usually very good at letting me know if there is a change of plan, but I also know they have many things going on in their lives. I start to mentally reconfigure the workshop we have planned together in case they do not turn up. I hope they will come as I think it will be empowering for them, but I am also acutely aware that it may seem daunting. I hope they feel they know me well enough to tell me if they don't want to come.

I call Lakmini. No answer. I call Semira, no answer.

9.30 am. They are still not here, and the taxi driver is starting to get impatient. How much longer should I wait? I need to set things up at the other end and if I have to do this alone, I need to adjust the workshop activities to deliver the session alone. More than anything this is their work and I don't want them to miss the opportunity to share it with others. Doing the workshop without them would feel wrong.

9.35. I manage to get through to Lakmini through the phone interpreting system. I ask if they are coming today and she tells me they are on their way.

9.40. Rushani and Lakmini come around the corner, they smile when they see me and I ask if they're ok – they say 'yes, ok' and we hug each other. Semira

comes around the other corner just a couple of minutes later. I'm so pleased to see them, so glad they have come. I do not want to speak on their behalf. I will support them, guide them but it feels important that we all stand up together and share our work in the same way that we have worked together - collaboratively.

Ok – I say, 'let's go'. Lakmini asks – 'bus?'. I tell them 'no – today - taxi' and point to the waiting black, shiny, seven-seater taxi. Rushani's eyes widen and she says 'wow!'. She smiles very widely at us all and then I notice she looks to her daughter, nudging her with her elbow and they both raise their eyebrows. I ask again if this is ok for them. I turn to catch Semira's reaction too and see she looks impressed. The door opens automatically and Rushani, Semira and Lakmini wait for me to get into the taxi first but I hold back and reach out my hand saying, 'after you'. They pause, then step into the taxi first and sit next to each other in the back seat, I perch on the seat opposite them, facing backwards and explain to the driver where we are going.

I wish I had taken a photo of Semira, Lakmini and Rushani sitting together in the taxi facing me with their huge smiles, looking excited and I consider this for a moment but I don't want to take the focus away from this simple pleasure of us setting out on this trip together, so I leave it. As we travel, we drive past the University and turn left along Kelvin Way. 'The park' Semira says, then we turn right along Argyle Street past Kelvingrove. Rushani recognises this and points and says 'Kelvingrove Museum', we all nod. We are 45 minutes later than planned but it's a beautiful morning and we are now setting off with a purpose. Everyone seems excited.

We arrive at Heart of Scotstoun community centre and I pay the taxi driver. We go inside to find the first session underway, and we try to creep in and find seats together near the back. Lakmini, Rushani and Semira sit and I tell them I will come back, I need to go into the other room to set up for the workshop. Our session will start at 11am.

I set up in the other room, make sure my PowerPoint is working and move some tables around. When I have everything ready, I go back into the main hall to sit with Rushani, Lakmini and Semira.

The presentation finishes and it's time for a coffee break. We go out into the café and I make coffee for everyone which we take with us into the workshop room. I ask Lakmini, Rushani and Semira to stick the laminated cards with their own handwritten words for 'Tamil', 'Tigrinya', 'Farsi' and the other languages I have prepared, onto the walls. They smile when they recognise their own handwriting, but I am still aware that they cannot really know what the session will hold, and I'm concerned that it might be intimidating for them. There is another session running at the same time as ours so I'm not sure how many people will choose our workshop.

Semira, Rushani and Lakmini go to sit at one of the tables. I put chairs next to mine at the front and I ask them to sit with me – 'is here ok?' They look nervous when they realise they will be facing everyone, then laugh and say 'ok'.

The room quickly fills up and I watch Lakmini's, Rushani and Semira's faces, smiling reassurance although inside I'm feeling nervous myself. I quickly count – 35 people. The chair for the session introduces us – my first slide says 'welcome' in Tamil, Tigrinya and Farsi – 'Khosh amadid, Verruga, Merhaba' I say and I watch Lakmini, Rushani and Semira's faces. I see smiles and recognition as we connect our ways of working in our other place, our classroom to this new place in the workshop. I'm nervous, for me and for them! I speak slowly to explain our project. I introduce myself and I turn hopefully to Lakmini, Semira and Rushani, gesturing that it is their turn, unsure of how this will go. I am silently willing them on but I know this act of asking them to introduce themselves to such a large group has the potential to either make them feel shy or to empower them. I know they can do this and I hope I have not misjudged how they might feel in this setting. I ask Lakmini first as she is the most confident….

I need not have worried, there is a slight pause then Lakmini is on her feet, she is standing, tall and proud and she shouts out to the room, in a voice much louder than my own introduction: 'I'M LAKMINI! I'M FROM SRI LANKA!' (I am stunned and proud, to see her jump up with so much confidence, her voice so loud). I ask Rushani next…she follows her daughter's lead 'I'm RUSHANI, I am from Sri Lanka' (this is confidence I have not seen before in Rushani) and then Semira. Semira who is usually so softly spoken…. she looks across at me, I nod

to her, she stands up, with such pride, follows Lakmini's lead and shouts louder than anyone to the full room: 'I AM SEMIRA, I am from ERITREA!' Her volume rises as she shouts 'ERITREA' and I hear the pride in her voice. I am stunned and delighted by this confidence and momentarily my mind flashes back to the image of Semira sitting alone, looking scared and not making eye contact on the first day we met in the BRC waiting room. No-one else in the room knows the significance of what Semira has just done. Her achievement is not lost on me.

I clap and everyone joins in to welcome them. I have a lump in my throat and tears in my eyes. I am taken aback, so proud of them and what achieving this will mean to them. They are here to be heard. To be seen. I thank them for coming and I tell them slowly that I am happy they are here. Yekenyeley *(thank you) in Tigrinya 'Nanri' in Tamil.*

I blink back my tears, turn to the group in front of me and just as they have done their part in introducing themselves, I pick up my role in presenting our project to the group. We are a team.

Learning from the Spring School

The Spring School represented a snapshot of the project. It combined our collaborative, decolonising ways of working, by putting their languages first within an authentic context, situated within the physical ecology and the broader society. It brought all of these elements together. It was the only session when we connected directly with other people, other members of the University community and the local community beyond that.

It showed me how their confidence had grown and how they used the skills we had developed together to be able to participate in the session. It connected the ecology of our relationship and the ecology of place by demonstrating to others what we had been working on, allowing us to transpose our ways of working into a different setting, a different and unfamiliar place.

I felt moved that they had trusted me to move out of our comfort zone of the classroom, and its immediate surroundings, to come with me in a taxi to an event when they did not know what this would entail. All the elements of our co-learning relationship were present during our workshop; the mutual respect

in working together to deliver the session, by the comparative luxury of taking a taxi together and having it paid for by the University and the sense of being valued and important that accompanied this and through the collaborative approach of delivering the session together. Their participation emphasised the mutual trust in our relationship. They trusted me to come and take part. I trusted that they would turn up, that they would be comfortable taking part and that they could do what we had agreed on together. It also addressed the balance of power in our work. I was vulnerable in this session, unsure if they would turn up, worried when they were so late and uncomfortable at the thought of having to carry out the workshop without them. I needed them just as much as they needed me.

This experience intersects with both of the other ecologies as it evidences the ecology of our relationship and the ecology of language within the physical location of the Spring School. Watching Lakmini, Semira and Rushani shout out their introductions also challenged my own perceptions of their levels of confidence in other physical settings. I came into the session concerned that they might not feel confident introducing themselves to a full room of people and acting as 'teacher' of their own languages, outside the niche of our classroom. I was wrong about this and it underpinned how much of a barrier language is in terms of confidence and showing your natural character.

An ecological approach also allows for the learning to be localised, 'pedagogical decision making therefore entails studying situations ''locally'', in their own terms' (Tudor, 2003, p. 8). Tudor (2003) refers to this concept as 'local meaningfulness' allowing for the role of 'environment' to be much more than a passive backdrop for language learning. 'It replaces these views with a conception of the learning environment as a complex adaptive system, of the mind as the totality of relationships between a developing person and the surrounding world, and of learning as the result of meaningful activity in an accessible environment' (Duff & van Lier, 1997, p. 783). As Moore et al. (2020) note, this concept is also present within translanguaging pedagogies as they respond to local realities, and as a result look different within each specific context.

Learning has to be observed in authentic surroundings (and not with the limited view of 'inside' and 'outside' the classroom), there is a need for greater authenticity and fluidity in our understandings of this. The Spring School provided an authentic setting and one that I hoped might build their confidence and encourage them to attend other local events.

Traveling to the Spring School together and noticing the places we had visited together was also significant as I could see their recognition of Kelvingrove Museum and the park, I could see they were starting to develop a better sense of where these places were in relation to each other and that they were starting to orient themselves and our work within the physical ecology in a way that was far more meaningful than looking at a map in a classroom.

The bus

Negotiating the bus journey to and from the class proved to be a significant challenge and formed an important part of the learning within the pilot study as it enabled learners to practise skills that would help them in their daily lives. For the initial sessions I supported this process; at first, by accompanying them on the bus to the University, checking the bus number and seeing them on to the bus at the end of the first session. I gradually reduced this assistance to ensure a balance between support and creating dependency. Learning to use the bus including recognising the bus number, timetables, tickets, the location of the bus stop are major barriers for those newly arrived not only in terms of language but also cultural differences such as maps, buying a ticket and paying. Support at this stage proved to be vital as were the travel tokens provided by the BRC as the participants were not yet receiving benefits and would have struggled to cover the bus fare (£4.60 for an all-day ticket). Without the travel tokens, it is doubtful the participants would have been able to attend.

Working with the participants in real-life situations and physically being on the bus with them allowed us to use language in an authentic, practical way; it allowed me to understand first-hand how they coped in these situations and this informed the content of the learning sessions by ensuring a synergy between the topics they asked to cover and my own observations of how best to support them. It took the learning beyond language into more practical life skills and it enabled me to bring the outside into the classroom, mirroring these real-world

situations within our classroom practice. These skills were put to immediate use when we stepped back out of the classroom to the bus stop and waited for the bus. As such the bus stop became a significant place within our project, we began our journey on our first day together at the bus stop on Bath Street in the city centre, we ended our first session by waiting together in the cold, dark evening at the bus stop outside the School of Education on Eldon Street and we said goodbye back at the same bus stop when we finished the project on a drizzly afternoon in June.

Saying goodbye to this place

Session 14: Our last session, Tuesday 18th June

After the last session I called, texted, and sent WhatsApp messages to everyone via their preferred medium of communication to arrange a final meeting and explain that we would go through the transcripts and key findings to conclude the project. We agreed to celebrate our work together by visiting the Hunterian Museum which meant meeting on a Tuesday as the Hunterian is closed on a Monday.

My fieldnotes below capture this last session:

After we have finished checking the transcripts, I check that everyone would still like to go to the Hunterian and the cloisters and to see the old part of the University. Yasmine isn't feeling well and she decides to go home but Semira, Rushani and Lakmini are keen to go.

I give everyone information for ESOL classes in the local area and the interpreters assist with working out which classes might work best for each of them. Yasmine is moving to London next week to join other family and tells me that she is sad to leave, that she has enjoyed our sessions and that if she could stay, she would definitely like to continue.

It is the end of the school term too. Everyone asks if we can continue again and it's hard for me to say that we have to finish this week. We have extended the project twice now from the initial 7 sessions to 14, double the original 'plan'. I take this as the most significant indicator of the success of our ecological, multilingual approach.

Lakmini is now studying ESOL at college and will continue after the summer. Rushani tells me she has more confidence because of this class and that she will go to a community ESOL class now and that she did not feel confident enough to do this before. I show her the details of one class close to her home and Lakmini agrees to support her mother to go. I reiterate that they have my contact details and to let me know if they need any further support at any time and that I will help them.

Semira will go to a local ESOL class in a community centre where she has started to attend a cooking class.

We leave our classroom together for what will be the last time. We walk along University Avenue together towards the old part of the University. I don't think they have been up here before and I point out the beautiful architecture and the library which look very different from the School of Education. They all look very impressed as we walk through the gate. The flowers are in bloom in the well-kept flowerbeds and they stop to take photos. Rushani tells us she likes the flowers, that they are beautiful. We walk through into the impressive cloisters and stop for a moment to take in the beautiful view of the quadrangle. It reminds me of where I grew up in Oxford and I mentally connect this view to my own home and wonder how Lakmini, Rushani and Semira see this place for the first time and what associations this scene might conjure up for each of them.

I say to them 'this is your University. Maybe you could come here again to study?' Lakmini has just turned 18 and I hope she will consider this. As we walk Rushani and Lakmini chat together and I wish I could do this with Semira. There is an acceptance that we cannot share so much verbally but she still wants to come, we have become comfortable with being together even if we can't talk as much as we would like.

We walk through the quadrangle and out of the other side to look out at the beautiful view of the city. I point out Kelvingrove Museum and they are surprised by its closeness and nod in recognition. We stop for a few minutes to take photos. It's June but it's another damp day and we're all still wearing our coats, I've now changed mine for a lighter rain jacket but they are still in thick winter coats.

There is a sense of being part of something, of connection and belonging and our time in this place feels like a mini graduation. We take a selfie together in the quadrangle and Lakmini shows me a better way to take a photo with just one hand. We laugh that she knows how to use my phone better than I do. She takes my phone from me to take this photo:

Figure 12 - Lakmini's photo of us together at the Cloisters

We go up the steps into the Hunterian museum. It's very hard to explain in any detail when we still only share a few words but again I have a sense of simply introducing them to where this place is, that it is free to come in and that you

can just walk in. It's hard to explain the exhibitions as I'm not that familiar with some of the objects, even harder in Tamil and Tigrinya.

5pm and the museum closes. We leave together, walk past the 'Our Wullie' which has now appeared outside the University gate. Semira says 'baby' to me and laughs.

There is the sense of companionship and trust again.

We arrive back at the bus stop on Eldon Street where our story began five months ago. We hug each other warmly; 'keep in touch' I say – 'text, WhatsApp, showing my phone, you have my number' they nod and say 'yes' they all text me often so I feel confident this might continue. We say goodbye and I thank them each in Tigrinya and Tamil, in the words they have taught me. We smile and look into each other's eyes. Still so much we cannot say to each other using verbal language. We thank each other.

We are back at the bus stop where our story began. It starts to drizzle again and there is symmetry with how we began this project. This ecology of place. This ecology of the relationships we have built over the last 5 months. People pass us on either side and we stand still in our small group for a few moments, perhaps holding on to this last moment together. We have shared something in this group and we are connected to each other by these experiences. We say goodbye at the bus stop for the last time and hug each other warmly. I walk away up the steps and I turn halfway up to check they are ok as I have become used to doing over the past five months. Lakmini and Rushani are chatting and walking away together, closely together as mother and daughter. Semira stops, looks at me and smiles, then crosses the road to the bus stop. She waves me goodbye as the bus pulls in.

I am proud of them. I am proud of them for trusting me, themselves and each other in so many 'moments of unknowingness'. I am proud for what they have achieved in these sessions and of what we have shared. It's hard to say goodbye and to know that I won't be there to check in with them each week.

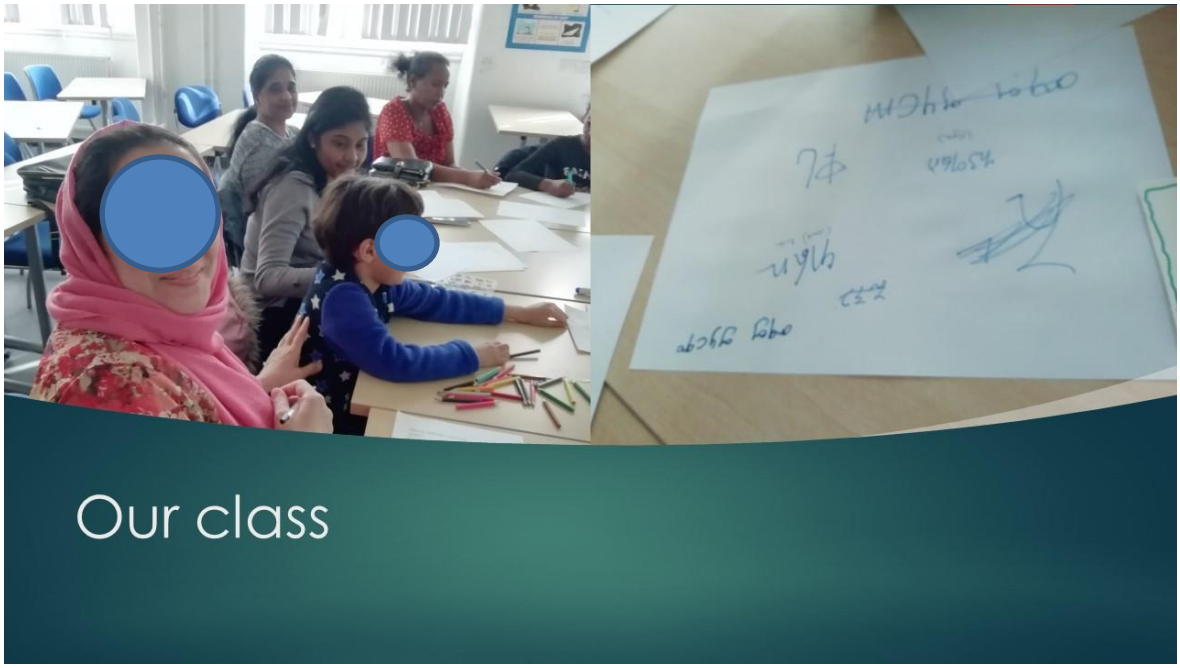


Figure 13 - Slide from the Spring School Presentation

Conclusions

In this chapter I have discussed the significance and agency of place within an 'ecologising' of language learning. I have contrasted definitions of 'context' and 'place' within an ecological framework and highlighted the need for orientation style activities to be incorporated in an authentic way. I have discussed the importance of connecting to place in a meaningful way within this period of settling into a host community. The findings illustrate the need for the agency of place, as defined in human geography, to be taken into account within language learning for reunited families within their first tentative weeks as New Scots adjusting to new lives in Glasgow.

Just as I discuss in the next chapter regarding the importance of connecting known language to new language through multilingual learning methods, so too can ideas of identity, memory and embodied understandings of place be connected to language learning within an ecological approach. In the following chapter, I discuss the symmetry of these connections within the third ecology: the ecology of language and 'languaging' before drawing the three ecologies together in Chapter nine.

Chapter Eight

Ecology 3: Language and 'languaging'

'You and me, we're the same. You struggle with Tigrinya and I struggle with English' (Semira, Interview 1)

Introduction

In this chapter I consider the third ecology: language and 'languaging' having foregrounded this discussion through the previous two chapters on the ecologies of relationships and place. I discuss how translanguaging and multilingual ways of working formed an essential foundation and ethical necessity within our work and I consider the key themes of a collaborative, multilingual, co-learning relationship and how these constructs went hand in hand with our orientation style language learning activities. I present the findings in the participants' own words as the interview data clearly evidenced the reasons why an ecological and multilingual approach was an ethical necessity in the research. I make a case for why we should look towards an 'ecologising' of language learning as situated practice to meet the needs of New Scots through exploring the impact of taking a translanguaging and multilingual 'stance'.

This chapter is organised in three sections; in section one, I consider the place of repertoire and collective language ecology within the context of our translanguaging work; in section two I explore the practical benefits of our multilingual approach before discussing the impact beyond pedagogy in section three. I refer to the 'key findings' document (Appendix A) throughout the chapter.

An ecological pedagogy: the significance of repertoire and collective language ecologies

The concepts of individual linguistic repertoire and collective language ecology were central to our work. Building on the discussion on language ecologies and translanguaging in Chapter two, we began our work from a heteroglossic ideology rather than simply using other languages to scaffold our learning by code-switching. Working in this way highlighted the mutuality of translanguaging

as a research paradigm in its own right and brought focus to the ‘trans’ of translanguaging as communication across languages and cultures. This languaging work became transcultural ‘as mutual exchange with collaboration as a crucial epistemological stance towards (translanguaging) research and practice’(Moore et al., 2020, p. 178) .

The concept of linguistic repertoire is particularly relevant within this research, as the participants began the project at the very beginning of learning English within their first few weeks in Scotland. If we consider each of the participants’ repertoires and its unique composition of all linguistic knowledge, at this stage, English represented only a very small part of their linguistic repertoires, perhaps 5%. The remaining 95% consisted of mainly their home language and other known languages. García & Kleifgen (2010) argue that for bilingual children, using only English means they are only being tested on 50% of their skills and this highlights the significance of this inequality for social justice. Had we worked monolingually through English we would at best be accessing and acknowledging 5% of the participants’ linguistic repertoire. All other linguistic knowledge would have been rendered obsolete as having no place or value within our work. As such, working multilingually was a practical and ethical necessity.

The acceptance of linguistic repertoire as a concept has implications for pedagogy in a practical sense as it allows us to build on known language. It also has relevance for linguistic identity and liminality as this repertoire expands to incorporate new language as it is learnt. These concepts were fundamental to our work and necessary within an understanding of pedagogy which includes the ‘practice architectures’ which underpin the CPAR approach. As Simpson (2020) points out, using only English in the classroom is a long-established and often unexamined norm in English language teaching. Combining individual repertoires to form our collective language ecology gave our group a full range of linguistic features on which to build and it also made visible our linguistic identities.

Drawing on the concepts of repertoire and language ecology also allowed us to make the language learning classroom more representative of the way that languages are used within our increasingly globalised world and within our ‘superdiverse’ (Vertovec, 2007) community. In everyday communication, we know that multilinguals ‘shuttle between languages’ (Canagarajah, 2011a, p.

401). However, as discussed in Chapter two, translanguaging which happens as everyday communication does not naturally translate into meaningful classroom practice without effort and deliberate pedagogical actions. The findings presented in this chapter relate to both the practical benefits of adopting a multilingual, translanguaging 'stance' or 'disposition' and a deeper discussion about the impact of translanguaging which is underpinned by the discussions on identity, social justice and linguistic dominance under 'Impact beyond pedagogy'.

Creating an ecological, translanguaging space

In Chapter two I contrasted Wei's (2017) understanding of the 'languaging' within translanguaging with the more commonly referenced origins of the term in the Welsh context. Phipps (2011) explains her understanding of 'languaging' emerged from 'the process of struggling to find a way of articulating the full, embodied and engaged interaction with the world that comes when we put the languages we are learning into action' (p.365). Languaging is 'a life skill' which is 'inextricably interwoven with social experience – living in society – and it develops and changes constantly as that experience evolves and changes' (Phipps & Gonzalez, 2004, pp. 2-3). Wei's definition is key to how I understood translanguaging within our ecological pedagogy as it incorporated this 'engaged interaction' in the world with 'living in society' as a feature of interconnectedness between languages, the physical place and our need for effective intercultural communication.

Had we not taken a deliberate pedagogical decision to incorporate translanguaging strategies the participants would still have translanguaged to communicate with family members. It would not have been possible or natural to use English to do this. This is particularly important when considering the affective functions which home languages serve (Ticheloven et al., 2019) and their relevance when working with reunited families. The difference between this kind of 'natural' translanguaging is that active use of home languages was encouraged, valued and made highly visible as a deliberate pedagogical choice.

In Chapter two I established that language ecology is not a separate or fixed pedagogy for teaching and learning but rather it is an approach and a way of thinking. The same can be said of translanguaging. We sought to create:

> a translanguaging space….created by and for translanguaging practices, and a space where language users break down the ideologically laden dichotomies between the macro and the micro, the societal and the individual, and the social and the psychological through interaction (Wei, 2017, p. 9)

Translanguaging is transformative as it incorporates a constant renegotiating of identities and linguistic repertoire which extend into the development of intercultural repertoires as part of a holistic ecological approach. In the following section I explore how these concepts were embedded in our work in a practical way.

Incorporating translanguaging strategies and stances

Pedagogy emerging from content and context

'It was helpful to cover topics for everyday life like getting the bus, food, shopping, money, introductions' (key finding)

In keeping with an ecological approach, our multilingual pedagogy emerged from the 'everyday' topics (Semira, interview 2) outlined in Chapter six and the intercultural work which took place outside the classroom. The emergent design gave space for fluidity, allowing language and activities to flow from the context as a methodological and ontological choice. This was a firm decision grounded in an ethical appropriacy as I could not plan without the participants. García (2020) notes how researchers who are committed to social transformation 'cannot determine what communities want in terms of knowledge, understanding, language and literacy experiences. This must be done in and with communities' (p. xix).

Building confidence and independence through multilingual learning from 'day one'

'Using my own language in class helped me at the beginning of learning English' (key finding)

'Using my own language supported my learning' (key finding)

As part of the iterative spiral of CPAR we drew on learning from the pilot to develop our own multilingual pedagogy for our own ecology by adopting a translanguaging 'stance' (Simpson, 2020, p. 52) to embed 'multilingualism at grassroots level'(Simpson, 2020, p. 55). Horner, Lu, Royster, and Trimbur (2011) describe a similar 'translingual disposition' which they see as a general openness 'toward language and language difference' (p.311). Translingual dispositions are created through a combination of complex sociocultural factors and therefore cannot be explained in a 'preconceived and uniform manner' (Lee & Jenks, 2016, p. 317)

This 'stance' or 'disposition' included encouraging the use of learners' own languages as much as possible by using strategies presented in the CUNY-NYSIEB guide (Celic & Seltzer, 2011) and increasing the visibility of other languages throughout each session as detailed in Chapters two and five. Doing so showed our commitment to the prioritising of other languages and the connections to the participants' existing knowledge and skills.

Our work evidenced a clear need for gentle, multilingual orientation style language learning to accompany the understanding of 'integration' as the process of settling into the physical ecology outlined in the previous chapter. Rushani told me in the final interview that she felt she gained enough confidence through the project to be able to go to a community ESOL class. Rushani also confirmed that she was able to practise the language we had learnt in class to help her in her daily life and told me: 'I'm using what we learn in class in my daily life, it's very practical – using the bus, shopping, food, going to the doctor, the places we've been to'.

During the interviews, participants told me how important language learning was in their lives, and how the ability to speak English gave them power and more control. Semira told me: 'the most important thing is to learn the language because in this country we can't communicate if we don't have the language. This class is really useful for us'. Semira told me 'this is all useful today learning the names for food, for everyday items and cultural things.' Everyone seemed keen to participate in the activities and it seemed that this was enhanced by using their own languages. Rushani told me 'Tamil and English together is

better'. Rushani told me; 'we prefer to have Tamil as well in the class because if you just use English, we don't understand what you're speaking so we are not able to follow you, it's better if you use Tamil.'

Participants found that using their own languages felt comfortable and had practical benefits. Semira told me; 'from the beginning the class is good. It's helping me like a dictionary between Tigrinya and English', adding that she liked the 'approach and the way you teach'. Rushani also told me; 'yes, it's comfortable for us to use our language, it's useful for us to use Tamil in the class because that helps us to learn quickly, what are you telling us in English. It is useful for us to know the exact definition.'

Semira also found this helpful from a practical point of view but kept in mind her goal of improving her English: 'It's very useful to explain things in our language. At the same time if you spend too much time with people from your country in your language... but it's very good for explanation it's really good to use my language and English here. It depends on the situation.'

Participants saw the inclusion of their own languages as particularly important within the early stages of learning English and this view was supported by my own observations. In interview 3, all participants told me how important this was for them. Yasmine told me including Farsi was 'very important for me'. Semira told me:

'Yes, it helped me a lot, thank you so much because it's so nice when you try to help us in our own language…we go home with some words and we understand. Since I started here you helped me a lot and even though it's difficult because you told me in Tigrinya I understand'.

Mapping single lexical items across languages to enhance metalinguistic awareness

We incorporated learners' own languages in simple ways to enhance metalinguistic awareness and make the learning accessible at this early stage. This included establishing learners' interests and building multilingual activities around the topics they suggested. Food and cooking proved to be a topic of universal interest and one that we agreed would help in their daily lives. We revisited this topic several times to review and consolidate our learning as it

gave us plenty of material to work with. Through this topic we developed strategies of comparing languages which worked well and we returned to for other topics.

We began by introducing vocabulary for individual food items using images, relating each item back to learners' own languages and drawing on ideas about the usefulness of making comparisons between languages within the CUNY-NYSIEB guide (Celic & Seltzer, 2011). We found actively contrasting languages supported vocabulary development and metalinguistic awareness and also enhanced language learning (Rauch et al., 2012).

When working on food, we made a note of vocabulary in all the languages present, sorting pictures into piles of 'I like' and 'I don't like'. Subsequent sessions allowed scope for working on shopping, money and prices with roleplays with the children taking the role of 'shopkeeper'. Connecting vocabulary in English to lexical items in learners' own languages helped to provide clarity and make the learning inclusive. I created simple worksheets with images of each item and space for the participants to record vocabulary in both English and their own language. As these worksheets were based on images, they were also suitable for the children in the group and supported the intergenerational aspect of our work.

At first, I questioned the use of worksheets as I wanted to ensure the sessions were fun and interactive rather than having everyone sit and write but I noticed that participants naturally made notes in class in their own languages and I wanted to support this way of learning and creating a record. This strategy supported their natural translanguaging practices and I took their lead in this. Creating the worksheets was simple do but it formalised this strategy and made the place of their languages visible within our learning.

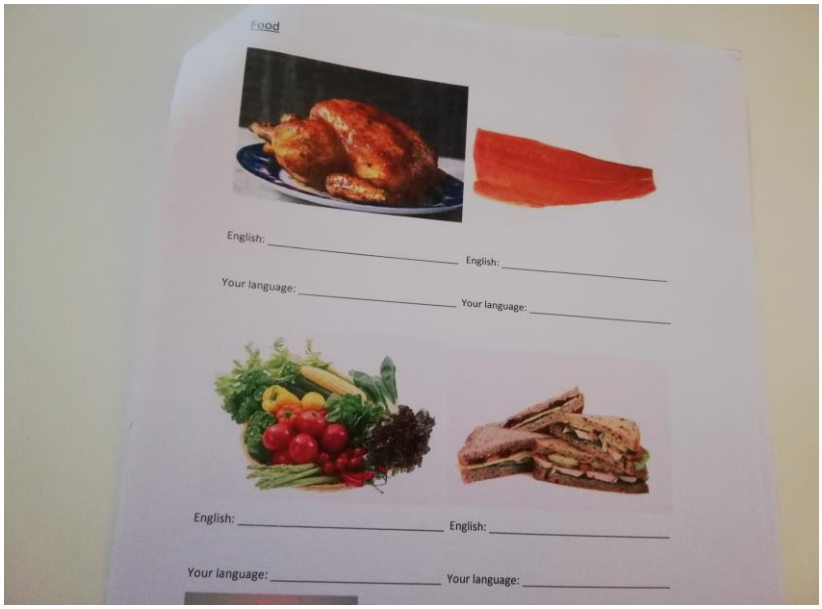


Figure 14 - Example worksheet

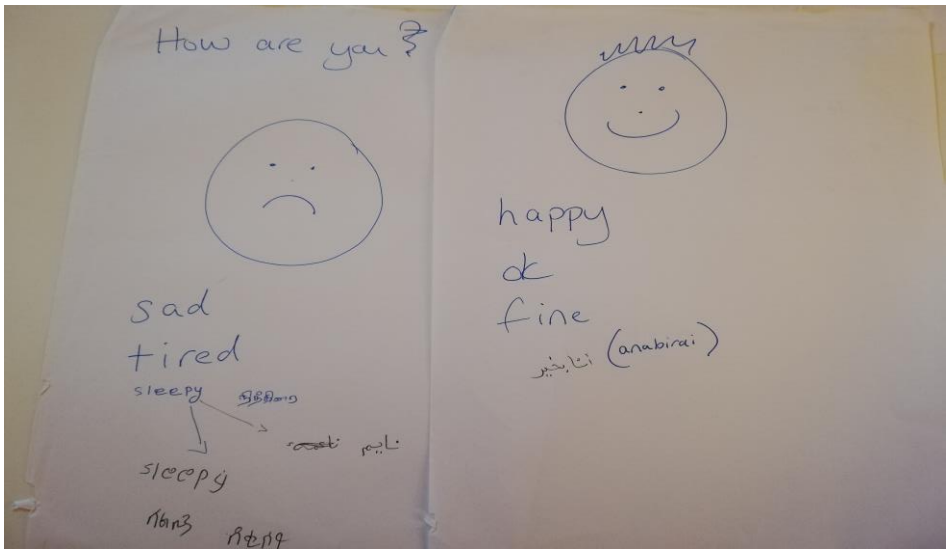


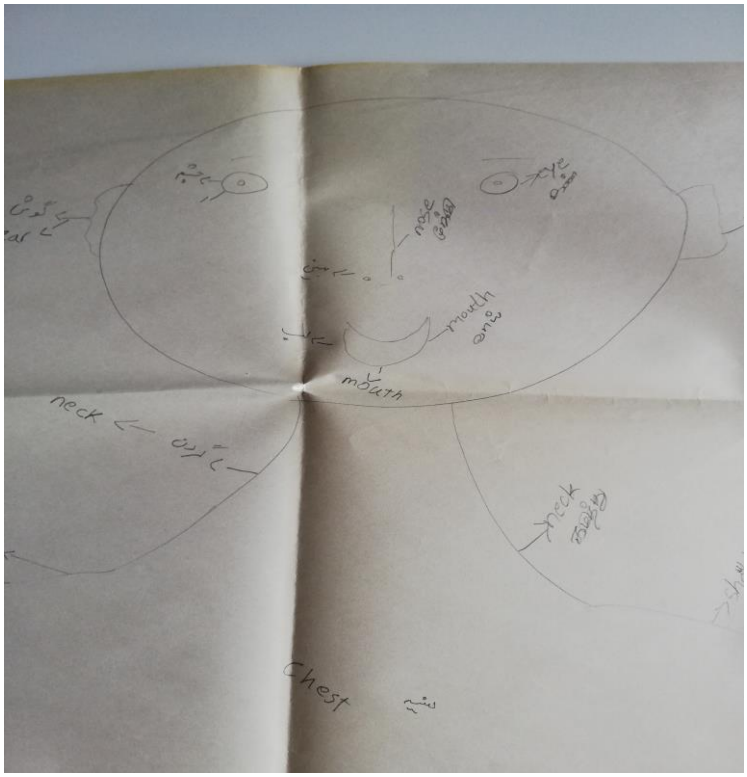
Figure 15 - Multilingual notes

Participants told me that having a written record meant they could take their learning away with them and as they were working with their family members, they could also practise together at home which further supported the intergenerational aspect of the work. Identifying the equivalent word for each item and recording it in a structured way allowed us to slow the pace to suit everyone in the group. In the interviews I asked if this was helpful and Semira told me 'Yes, it's kind of like a dictionary', Rushani agreed; 'it's very practical'. Incorporating all the learners' languages took participants a few sessions to get used to. When we managed to get something right in each other's language, everyone was pleased and, although progress was slow, setting up activities in

this way from the start laid a solid foundation for subsequent sessions and established a pattern of working which learners seemed to enjoy and feel comfortable with. This again reiterated the importance of familiarity and routine in our work.

My fieldnotes from session 7 provide an example of how we worked multilingually on the participants chosen topic of health:

We make a multilingual body poster with the children drawing a body and everyone leaning in to label it in their own languages. It feels like a good way for children to be involved with activities they can actually do and to have specific outcomes for each age group.



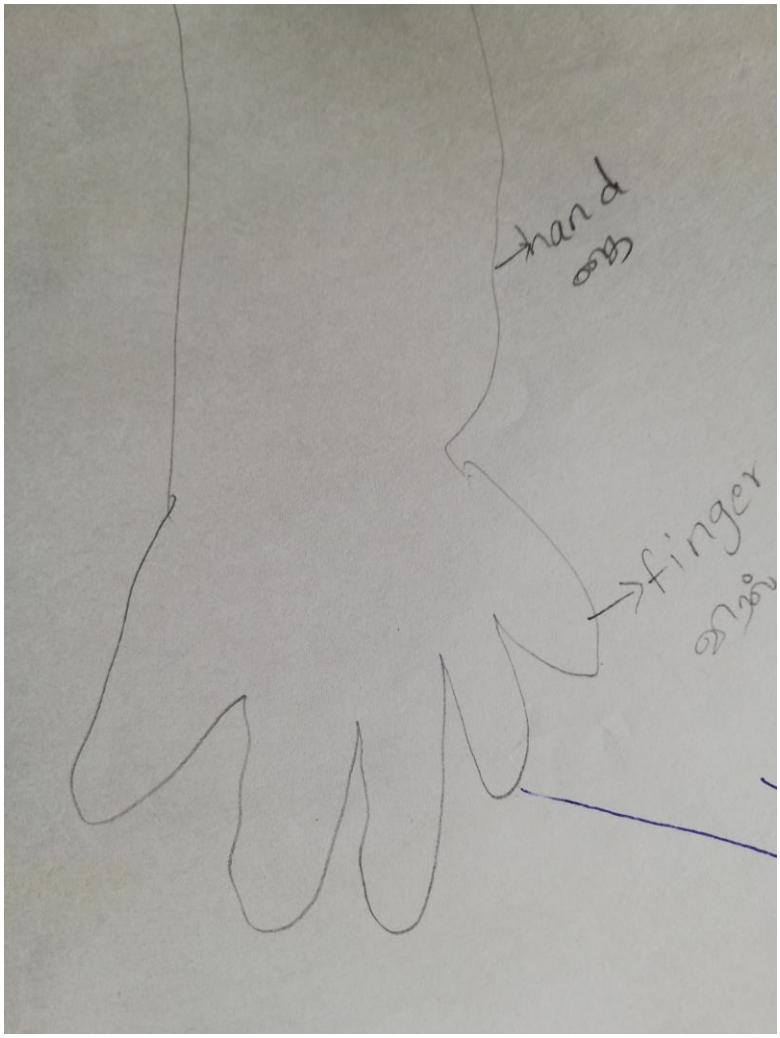


Figure 16 - Multilingual body poster

After our break we use the body poster to work on ailments. We point to each part of the body and ask, 'what's the matter?' To answer: 'I have a headache', 'my leg hurts'. At the end of the session we consolidate our learning through reviewing these themes and seeing how much we can remember in each other's languages. Everyone seems happy and engaged.

In the final interview all the participants said they felt our translanguaging had helped them to make connections between English and their own languages. Of the seven ways García and Wei (2014b) identify that translanguaging can be used to leverage students' learning in the classroom (Chapter two), I found the last four of these to be most relevant for us: (3) to deepen understandings and develop new knowledge and critical thinking; (4) to encourage cross-linguistic transfer and metalinguistic awareness; (5) to promote cross-linguistic flexibility for competent language use; (6) to encourage identity investment; and (7) to disrupt linguistic hierarchies and social structures.

'Even though it's difficult, because you told me in Tigrinya I understand'

'Using my own language in class helps me to learn' (key finding)

By the end of the pilot the participants and I had established that they found it helpful to use their own languages for accuracy and I also came to rely on this to check when participants had understood. In other teaching practice such comprehension checking may happen through concept checking questions which would have been difficult with so little shared verbal language. I found that if participants were able to give me an equivalent word in their own language that they had understood. If they did not know what the word was in their own language, I knew I had lost them, and that further clarity was needed. This evidenced that home languages are always the foundation for comprehension and that we learn new language through language we already know.

My fieldnotes below provide an example of how we worked between languages to scaffold the learning of new lexical items as we moved from the initial topic of 'food' into 'shopping for food'.

Torrential rain today again just as our session was due to start. Semira arrived early again without her daughter. As it was just Semira and I at the start of the session we started to review last week's work on food vocabulary and shopping, working back and forth between Tigrinya and English as we have become used to doing together. I have prepared flashcards with images of food and we take it in turns to pick up a card from the pile on the table between us and practise the word in each other's languages and follow asking 'how much is the..?'. Semira picks up a card and tells me 'bread', 'ዕኒ bani'. 'Bani'*? I repeat, looking to Semira for confirmation, she nods that I have this right. I pick another card and try to remember each item in Tigrinya. I tell her the word in English, she repeats it, then tells me in Tigrinya, I repeat this and we both make a note. Semira's face lights up when we use Tigrinya together. It's just her and I for the first 30 minutes and we both enjoy this time together. It's easier for me to focus on one language at a time, it gives symmetry and balance working with just Tigrinya and English and it feels that we are making good progress this way. We have been working together like this at the start of most sessions for the past five months, our relationship is cemented through these wider pedagogical interactions which take place before the others arrive.*

After 30 mins and a few text messages from Lakmini, Rushani and Yasmine who all explain the delays with buses due to the stormy weather, the others arrive. They are soaked, yet again but we laugh, put on the kettle and take some time to peel off wet coats and 'arrive' in this space, to settle Yasmine's daughter and discuss how the rain in June is slightly warmer than the rain in February in Glasgow. This learning of language, our languaging, is always contextualised within this physical ecology of Glasgow, as they battle against the elements and the subsequent delays with the buses to make it to our sessions. I have great respect for their commitment to our project. Our languaging is also foregrounded within the ecology of our relationship and the familiarity and comfort that we now have with each other – to be late, to come in and put the kettle on. Yasmine points at the window and asks me in Farsi to shut it because she is cold. There is an acceptance that she can ask me in Farsi and I wonder if she had felt that she could only use English in this space whether she would have asked at all? Or would she have sat there feeling cold, unsure of how to ask in English?

These small actions, this increase in visibility and acceptance (though it should not be needed, they should not need permission to use their own languages), gives us alternative ways of communicating. It is my responsibility to understand her request in Farsi, not her responsibility to ask me in English. This is two-way, mutual integration.

Yasmine has pulled out her phone to translate her request but it is not necessary – we have languaged our way around the issue, I am quickly on my feet and the window is shut. I ask Yasmine to tell me her request in Farsi and I note it down so I know this for next time, I write 'can you shut the window please?' and 'I'm cold' on the board in English and we check the equivalent in Tigrinya and Tamil and use body language to show 'brrrr… I'm cold'. This language has emerged from the 'semiotic activity' which van Lier (2002) describes. It is ecological. We are 'languagers' (Phipps, 2009) here. The content of our learning has emerged from the physical ecology because it is that which surrounds us. Once this new language is practised and everyone is comfortable we move back to our topic of shopping and do a quick review of food vocabulary together.

(Fieldnotes, Session 13)

Our languaging is messy and imperfect, partial with gaps filled through non-verbal language to communicate what is necessary within the context. There is a transience of communicating in the moment, to call Yasmine's daughter back in the park (Chapter six) when there was no time to check in a dictionary and by Yasmine asking me to shut the window in our session today. There is no need for perfect grammatical sentences but there is a very real, urgent and unavoidable need for communication and to 'language' together. We use whatever linguistic resources come to us be it in Tamil, English, Farsi or Tigrinya or the multimodal and embodied ways of communicating 'beyond – or *beside/s* words' (Thurlow, 2016, p. 503).

Our languaging is also shown later in the same session:

At break time Yasmine's daughter takes Semira's seat as she makes coffee and Semira smiles and pretends to tell her off in Tigrinya. Yasmine's daughter answers in Farsi and I answer in English. This has started to feel normal to us and although we can't understand the exact words which Yasmine's daughter has said in Farsi or the Tigrinya which Semira uses we all understand the intonation, the smiles and the body language as Semira wags her finger and shakes her head in mock disapproval.

We move around the room to create a shop, I give everyone a shopping bag and then we go shopping with each other – it's very calm and focused and everyone enjoys choosing what to buy. We take our time to personalise this: 'I would like…', 'Can I have…?', 'how much is?...'

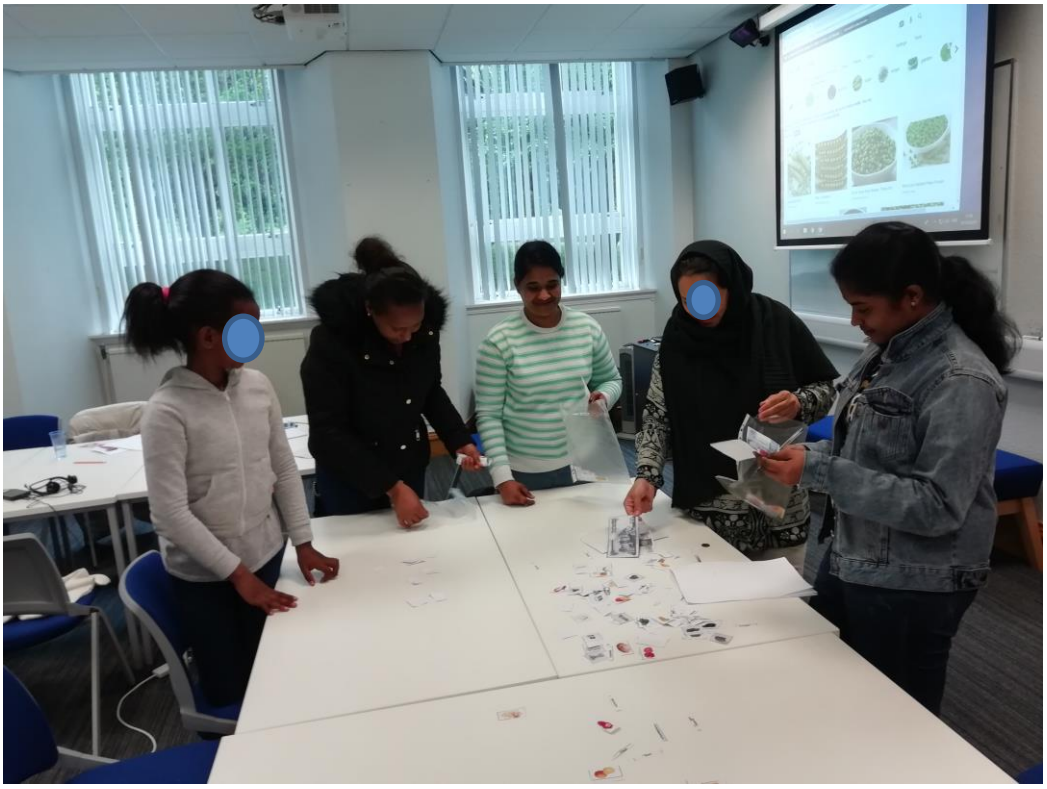


Figure 17 - Shopping

This topic also connects with the topic of money which we have been working on, using 'money' I have bought from the pound shop to work on denominations, numbers and paying for items.

(Fieldnotes, session 13)

We personalise this activity further through a discussion on where everyone goes shopping and we discuss the merits of different supermarkets: 'close to home, cheap, fresh, good choice'. Participants discuss in their own languages with their family members and report back to the group. These activities build useful vocabulary, enhance the metalinguistic awareness outlined above and also serve as useful orientation to discuss which shops are best in the local area. This provides an opportunity to gain valuable local knowledge which can be put to immediate use following their request to cover 'everyday topics' and 'basic information.'

My fieldnotes illustrate how comparing languages helped to ensure accuracy and build confidence. Semira had already told me how using Tigrinya helped her to understand and for accuracy at the end of the pilot and she confirmed this again in the final interview: 'Of course, it helped me to learn using my own language

because sometimes when the word is difficult and I don't know what you mean exactly but when you explain to me in Tigrinya, I understand it fully'

It almost seemed that this was an unnecessary question and that perhaps the participants questioned why I would ask them this. Wasn't it obvious? 'Of course, it helped me!'

Yasmine also told me that technology had helped to support our multilingual classroom practices: 'using my own language has helped me a lot to understand because I didn't understand some words and I use the dictionary to find out what it is so I can say that definitely using my own language has helped a lot.'

Semira told me in the final interview: 'Any word when you translate in Tigrinya, some of them are really difficult to find out exactly what this means especially in the class when I'm speaking Tigrinya and nobody else knows that so it's quite difficult to explain to them what I'm speaking.'

Our conversation continued…

Semira: You helped us in own languages even though we're equal unknown in Tigrinya and English and even if we forget about the word you try to help us with the computer and it really helps.

Sarah: In terms of this class is there anything you can do now that you couldn't do when we started?

Semira: As I told you before I never knew a word of English before so I couldn't say to you "I could do this or this" even though it's helped me. I can tell you that I started to be able to write my name and my country name. I started with a couple of words. As I've said a couple of times it's been a pleasure. You've really, really helped us. You've made it easy. The way you're teaching us is good. You've tried to help us, and your way of teaching is good and it helped me a lot for myself.'

Yasmine told me: 'I really enjoyed your classes and I believe it was very helpful and I really appreciate all your help and efforts that you put into this class for us. I really loved to attend the classes. I'm not sure if I'm going to move away

but if I'm in Glasgow I want to continue this. Thank you, I appreciate you. Thank you so much for creating such a great class for us.'

Semira concluded the conversation by showing her confidence and how keen she was to keep in touch by telling me: 'We have to practise text messaging!'

Acknowledging participants' existing linguistic knowledge and skills also enables us to reassure learners they are not starting at the very beginning of language learning and that the languages they already know have value and significance As Kramsch (2008) notes, 'the meaning of a new piece of knowledge will emerge not from the syllabus but from the connections the learner will make with his/her own prior knowledge and experience' (p.392). Phipps (2019b) also recognises how 'language learning and meaning making come together from the knowledge of this context and language which swirls and forms and falls around what is already known, and the desire to understand' (pp. 42-43). These connections were fundamental our ecological approach and go far beyond practical scaffolding into the creation of new linguistic and intercultural identities. Participants' felt their confidence increased by making these connections with their existing knowledge and their feedback evidenced how strongly this strategy supported their learning.

The place of technology

The smart screen also proved a valuable tool to quickly check between languages or to provide an image for which we could each give a word in our own language to build our linguistic repertoires. Checking if the participants knew the word for the image on the screen in their own language proved useful to check comprehension and to let me know that everyone understood.

Where possible I followed the participants lead on how they used technology to support their learning. Yasmine used her phone during the learning sessions and had an app to translate full sentences from Farsi into English. She told me that she relies on this outside class so to be able to use this strategy in the class was natural and helpful for her and connected her translanguaging practices in her daily life to our work together. When we visited Kelvingrove Museum she also used her phone to ask me questions about the exhibits in Farsi and I followed her lead with this.

Online translation tools were also useful when relaying messages to participants. During the confusing weeks when we tried to expand the group several of the new participants texted me in Farsi and Arabic. I managed to respond in their languages by using online translation tools and this seemed to work for very simple messages about times and days. Ticheloven et al. (2019) recognise the important role technology can play in supporting current multilingual practices and this was mirrored in our work.

Facilitating translanguaging in languages I do not know

> *it is one thing for a monolingual teacher to encourage students to take risks, and quite another for a teacher to model what taking these risks might look like (Flores & García, 2013, p. 253)*

My linguistic incompetence and knowledge of Tamil, Tigrinya and Farsi became a defining feature of our interactions and it cemented the foundation of the ecology of our relationship explored in Chapter six because of the impact it had on the balance of power in our work. One of the main questions I encountered in conversation with other teachers concerned how we can use a multilingual approach if we do not speak the same languages as the learners. This was also a recurrent theme in the interview data from Germany and Wales discussed in Chapter four.

As ESOL classes in Scotland are typically diverse and multilingual (Schellekens, 2008) this is a key point to address if teachers are to become confident using translanguaging regardless of how many different languages are spoken in class and regardless of their knowledge of these languages. During the project it was necessary for me to teach using Tamil, Tigrinya, Farsi and Arabic when I do not know more than a few words in each of these languages and, with a few adjustments, I found this to be possible, productive, rewarding and enjoyable. As García and Wei (2014b) recognise, 'a teacher who uses translanguaging as pedagogy participates as learner' (p.94). The success of this strategy necessitated an intentionality to take a translingual stance and to become a learner within the group. I facilitated and guided the sessions but relied on the participants for input in their own languages, working with family members to complete tasks. I could not always understand what was being said, it gave me less control and although this felt strange at the start, we all adapted and

committed to this way of working. Participants had a more equal and active role within the learning process as a result, it shifted the balance of power away from English and away from me.

These multilingual practices drew on the participants full linguistic resources and all of my own as I related each word back to Tamil, Tigrinya and Farsi with the use of online dictionaries and images on the screen. I relied on the participants to let me know if the definitions were correct. I needed to know a few key words in each language from the very beginning and preparing a few basic phrases and flashcards helped me to facilitate the initial sessions. Despite feeling that my knowledge of Tamil, Tigrinya and Arabic was severely lacking this also placed us all on a more equal footing as we tried to communicate in bits and pieces of each other's languages. I asked participants how they felt about this and Rushani told me 'it's comfortable for us.'

García and Wei (2014b) suggest that teachers should not view a lack of knowledge of learners' languages as a barrier, noting that teachers need to be willing to give more power to learners and allow them to take control of their own learning to create a collaborative learning environment. García and Wei (2014b) also suggest that learners support each other with the teacher trying to meet learners halfway; 'the teacher makes an effort to make herself understood using Spanish, and the students try to make themselves understood using English. In doing so more English is being added to the linguistic repertoire of the students, and more Spanish to that of the teacher' (p. 112). This puts the 'two way' process of New Scots into practice in a very real sense, taking it beyond policy and into language learning as a meaningful, collaborative process. Monolingual teachers can find ways to incorporate translanguaging into their teaching with the benefit that 'it shows students how to privilege interaction and collaborative dialogue over form and thus develops their voice' (García & Wei, 2014b, p. 112) .

This is a crucial difference between a translanguaging stance and other forms of pedagogy. I was 'in' this research as much as the participants. My ability (or lack thereof) to pick up their languages was stripped bare and highly visible in our sessions. I could not prepare the words they taught me at each session as I did not know the direction each session would take. I was not in control, not

leading. In the second interview, Semira told me again that she noticed this ‘struggle’, by telling me: ‘You struggle with Tigrinya just like me struggling with English!’

Our work required the willingness to show and embrace this ‘struggle’ in a very real way. Working in this way echoed Butler’s (2005)‘moments of unknowingness’ when ‘our willingness to become undone to experience language as wound or lack in relation to others constitutes our chance of becoming human’ (p. 136). My willingness to become ‘undone’ in front of the group provided solidarity and a firm foundation for the relationships I described in Chapter six. For the participants to have more power I had to accept less, and this visibility was key to building a decolonising relationship.

Semira identified my efforts as a ‘struggle’. She had observed that I was ‘struggling’ with Tigrinya from the very beginning. This was honest and accurate, and I valued her openness and the fact that she did not question or falter in describing my attempts in this way. She said this with a smile. Yes, I was struggling too, we all knew this, we could all see this, but I was also learning ‘little by little’ and we accepted that this slow progress for all of us, me included, was something to be acknowledged and celebrated. I provided a direct example of how much time it takes to learn a language, that it is natural to need repetition and reminders to be able to retain new language.

The Spring School poem entitled ‘Learning a language is hard work’ sums up our efforts perfectly. It is hard work, it is a ‘struggle’. It takes time, and patience and by learning together with this visible symmetry we provided a safe space in which all languages held equal value. A space in which to try out new ways of learning together, of ‘communicating and knowing beyond – or *beside/s* words’ (Thurlow, 2016, p. 503) within the collaborative relationship of trust outlined in Chapter six.

Impact beyond pedagogy

Linguistic incompetence as solidarity and mutuality

‘You struggle with Tigrinya just like me struggling with English.’
(Semira, interview 2)

Crucially, the fact that my attempts to use Tigrinya, Tamil and Farsi were very limited did not seem to matter to the participants. This meant using other languages in a way that was very different to my own previous experiences. When I taught in Germany, I was able to explain English grammar points in detail through German. This was not how it was in our sessions. I could not explain grammar or vocabulary in their languages, over the course of the project I managed to retain a few greetings, and some simple vocabulary at most. I remained incompetent in their languages (especially Tamil which I found particularly difficult). Tigrinya started to make sense to me, the characters reminded me of Japanese 'kana'. This simple, clear script seemed logical to me, I liked the pronunciation and I felt good that when Semira told me how to say a word and I could repeat it back to her with reasonable success. I also started to make progress with Farsi. Unfortunately, Tamil remained incredibly difficult to me, unlike any other language I know with its long, complicated words, difficult pronunciation and script which seemed almost incomprehensible to me. I had to ask Rushani and Lakmini over and over and over again and then, after the third attempt, I could still not grasp it and I struggled to make sense of the script at all. It felt inaccessible to me in a way that Tigrinya and Farsi did not. Lakmini, who was 17 at the time, repeated for me in rapid fire and laughed shyly when I pronounced a word wrong for the fourth time. My linguistic incompetence was excruciatingly visible in these sessions. For me it was not that I did not know this particular word in Tamil it was more that no matter how many times Lakmini patiently repeated for me, I could not even get close to getting it right. Frustrated with myself, I carried on with our session whilst making a note on my pad. I told them and showed them: 'my homework – next time'.

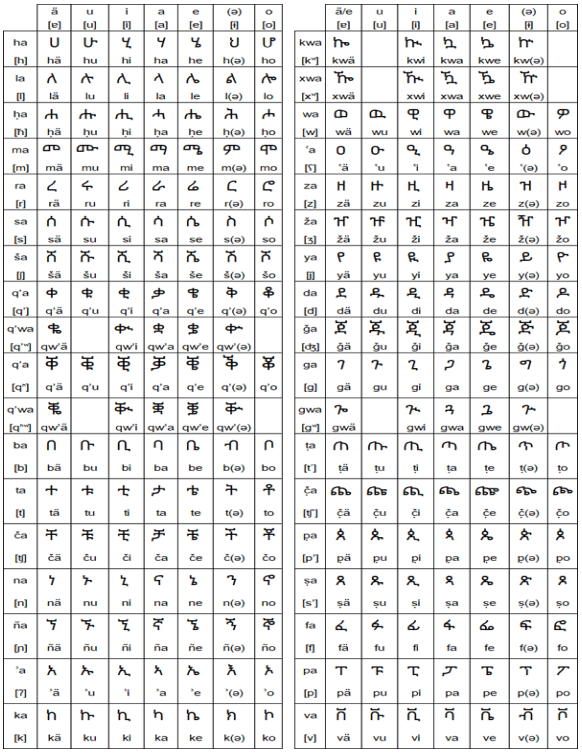


Figure 18 - Ge'ez Script (Tigrinya)

(Ager, 2020)

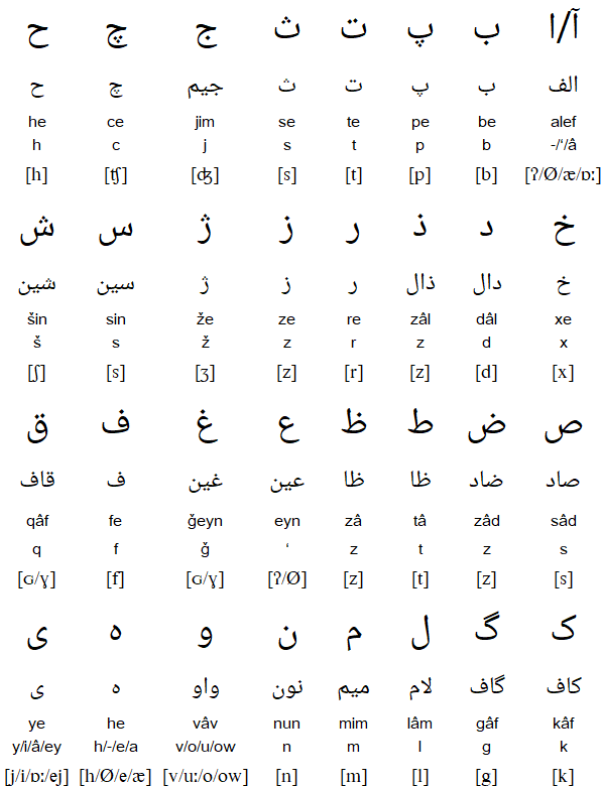


Figure 19 - Farsi alphabet

(Ager, 2020)

Figure 20 - Tamil Script

(Ager, 2020)

Before the next session I checked in the online dictionary for the words they had told me practised and them, determined to show that I had made this effort and that I could manage at least a few words in Tamil. At the start of the next session, I told Lakmini I had done my homework and pronounced the Tamil words as well as I could. She told me ‘yes’! and laughed and clapped at my efforts. Just as their investment in the project was clear, so too was mine. I had taken this home to learn, I had spent my time outside of our session preparing for this. Learning the words they had taught me in an effort to get this right because it mattered to me too. Such exchanges modelled my linguistic incompetence, but for me felt uncomfortable as I did not want to be seen to favour Farsi and Tigrinya.

This symmetry and my ‘struggle’ with their languages was evident from day one. Semira told me at the first interview; ‘you and me, we’re the same. You struggle with Tigrinya and I struggle with English’ but she also gently encouraged me at the end of one of our sessions by telling me; ‘Sarah, Tigrinya, little by little by little’. This showed her understanding, encouragement and kindness towards me and highlighted the mutuality of our language learning. Despite our vastly different reasons for learning each other’s language, I felt it was a real success of the project that this symmetry was evident to Semira.

I was multiply disadvantaged as I tried to learn all three of their languages. Phipps (2013a) notes how such ‘linguistic incompetence’ is a powerful tool to

express solidarity by using a non-dominant language in an unexpected context and how this has particular benefits when working with people who may be experiencing 'pressure or pain' for example in the context of seeking asylum. Phipps' views were supported by my own findings. Both Rushani and Lakmini told me several times that they found the use of Tamil in the class helpful, and their comments showed that my efforts to use Tamil were appreciated and seen as important. Rushani also told me; 'yes, it's comfortable for us to use our language.'

By actively encouraging the use of learners' own languages and acknowledging their significance we provide 'linguistic hospitality', as a necessary 'mediation between host and guest languages' (Kearney, 2019, p. 1), supporting the 'two-way' integration process and also counteracting some of the effects of the 'hostile environment' outlined in Chapter one. Kearney (2019) describes 'linguistic hospitality' as a middle road 'where one honors both host and guest languages equally, while resisting the take-over of one by the other' (p. 1). Embedding 'linguistic hospitality' meant our learning environment was based on human connections and reflected the ways that participants used languages outside the classroom enabling us to 'bring the outside in' (Roberts & Baynham, 2006). This is not assimilation in linguistic terms, it is meeting each other halfway and it was essential within our mutual language learning. The impact of linguistic hospitality was reflected in the key finding:

'Using my language in class made me feel welcome and comfortable'

Voice and audibility

'to have a voice and not be heard is to experience pain'
(Baynham, 2020, p. 15)

Within ESOL teaching there is a strong recognition of the need to increase learner 'voice' and to ensure learning is 'learner centred'. However, as most ESOL classrooms remain English only spaces, the parameters for making learner voice heard are set by the 'white monolingual listening subject' (García, 2020, p. xix) in sharp contrast to a learning setting which is decolonised and multilingual. Baynham (2020) notes the need for increased 'audibility', citing

Roy (2004) who notes, ‘there is no such thing as the “voiceless”. There are only the deliberately silenced or the preferably unheard’ (qtd. in Tyler, 2006, p.199). Our work showed that listening also needs to be decolonised to improve audibility.

The significance of listening well is also present within the feminist ethics of care outlined in Chapter six as it is ‘important emotionally as well as intellectually’ (Noddings, 2012, p. 774). Noddings (2012) notes how this is part of learning; ‘receptive listening (attention) is at the heart of caring for human others, but it is also central to hearing the messages from books, art, music and nature’ (p.775). Listening is also linked to the potential of the language classroom for social justice Levine (2020). Audibility is also a reciprocal relationship between speaker and listener, as Baynham (2020) recognises ‘a necessary response for speaking to become action is audibility, being heard’ (p.15).

I considered the participants’ voices within our work and the impact of other people speaking on their behalf. In some cases, this was a daughter speaking for her mother in the learning sessions, a husband speaking for his wife on the phone or an interpreter who translated the participants’ words. I found stepping back improved both visibility of other languages and audibility. Creese (2020) describes such a space as ‘polyphony’, comprised of all the different voices and notes the need for careful differentiation between each of them.

The Spring School themes of ‘labour and resting’ which are based on Karine Polwart’s (2019) beautiful ‘wind resistance’ come back to mind as a refrain for this work:

‘stepping up

falling back

labouring and resting’

Within our collaboration, this ‘communitas’, the need for stepping up was just as important as the need for falling back, to allow others to step up in multilingual audibility and for their voices be heard. The receptive listening which Noddings describes was significant. Participants told me what they wanted

from the sessions, where they wanted to go and how they felt about our sessions. I quietly stepped back and listened. The ecology of our relationship created a space in which participants felt comfortable to speak and to be heard in Farsi, Tamil and Tigrinya. Participants consistently initiated interaction with me in their own languages and this became more established over the course of our time working together. In my listening, a space was created for them to speak first, for example when Semira entered the classroom late in session nine (Chapter six) and Yasmine shouted 'SIT'! to invite Semira to take the seat next to her. I could have spoken but I held back to leave the space for Yasmine to speak instead and to be the host.

The impact of this 'audibility' was seen in the way that Semira interacted with me in the sessions, arriving early and initiating conversation with me in Tigrinya and also by the way she participated in the interviews (Chapter six). Working with interpreters gave participants a medium through which to express their ideas more fully in their own languages which I felt contributed to audibility.

Baynham (2020) notes the powerful impact of not being heard and how translanguaging serves as a 'speaking back' to monolingual and separate bilingual normatives. My Spring School fieldnotes record my perception of their introductions to the full room: *'they are here to be heard. To be seen'*. Our ways of working together can be viewed as such a 'speaking back' (Baynham, 2020) to monoglossic ideology defined by the 'native speaker' who defines the classroom as an English-only space. A space in which Lakmini felt her language was 'bad' and 'not allowed'.

Without this openness and stepping back from me, Semira may not have told me she had noticed the church on the way back from Kelvingrove (Chapter seven). Our comfortable, multilingual relationship had provided an audible space to enable her voice to be heard in Tigrinya. This audibility intersects with the balance of power and our decolonising, in Semira's words which have stayed with me so strongly throughout the project and the writing of this thesis: 'you and me we're the same…'.

As García (2020) notes, translanguaging is a way 'to enable language - minoritized communities who have been marginalized in schools and society to finally see (and hear) themselves as they are, as bilinguals who have a right to

their own language practices' (p. xix). The small changes outlined here to create opportunities for improved voice and audibility at a local level may contribute to affect a wider change which permeates from the bottom up, the local to the global. This research seeks to 'catalyse change' for 'understanding and constructing new methodologies *for* and *through* language' (Moore et al., 2020, p. 1).

García (2020) cites Audre Lorde (1984) to highlight how essential it is for participants to be part of enacting this change: 'the masters tools will never dismantle the masters house. They may allow us to temporarily to beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change' (p.xxi). For such 'dismantling' to be possible, the visibility of other knowledge must be brought to equal status to develop what Boaventura de Souza Santos (2007) calls 'interknowledge' (García, 2020). García (2020) notes that this is not necessarily about building 'peaceful intercultural relationships' but about disrupting false images of life on both sides and changing the practice architectures on which current pedagogies are constructed. This process of knowledge construction goes beyond language and pedagogy:

> *For us to live together in ways that prosper one another we need to be able to listen, and speak, interculturally and in ways that do not see language as a barrier (Phipps, 2006, p. 167)*

The 'Languaging' of the Spring School

In the previous chapter I explored how we connected the Spring School workshop with the physical ecology. In this section I take a deeper look at the 'languaging' which took place in planning and delivering the workshop alongside the significance of the themes of the poem 'Learning a language is hard work.'

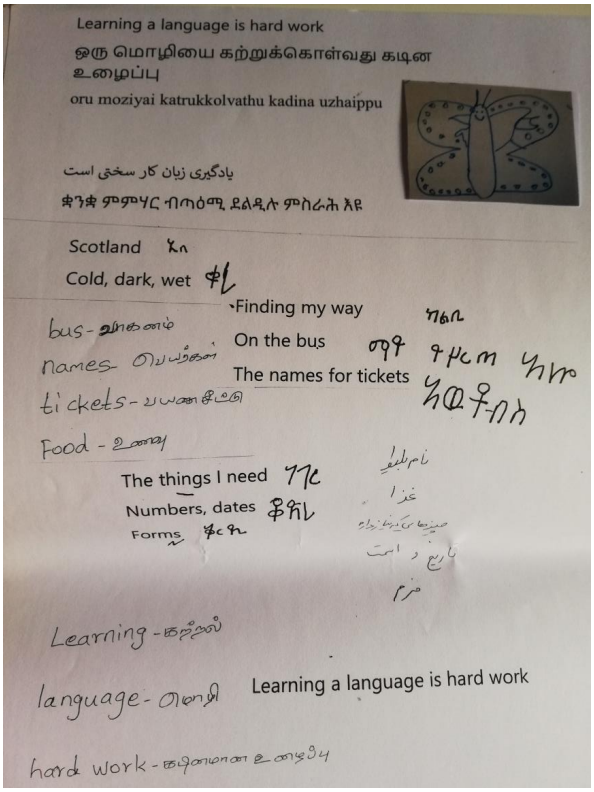
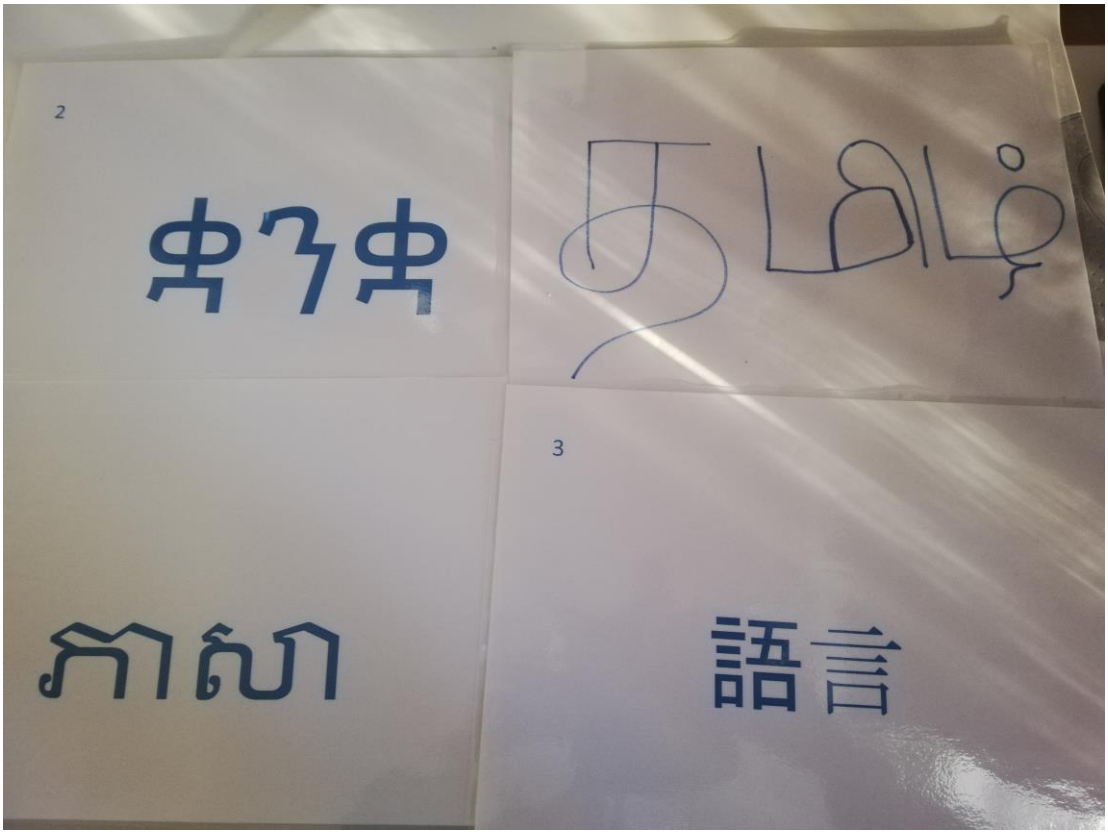


Figure 21 - Learning a Language is Hard Work

In Chapter seven I shared my fieldnotes from the Spring School and explored how I was worried that the participants might not feel confident introducing themselves at the workshop. I was stunned when they each jumped up in turn to shout their introductions to the group. Here, I pick up my fieldnotes after these introductions to analyse the parts of the workshop which highlight our ways of multilingual working and how we brought these into the physical ecology of the workshop space:

I ask everyone to move around the room to identify as many languages as they can from the twenty words we have stuck on the walls. Semira, Rushani and Lakmini do this too. Semira is pleased to recognise Tigrinya and Amharic and tells me 'Eritrea language'. I have tried to give them the advantage here so they know as many of the languages as the other workshop participants if not more. I have included many different scripts alongside Tigrinya, Tamil and Farsi.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ಕನ್ನಡ
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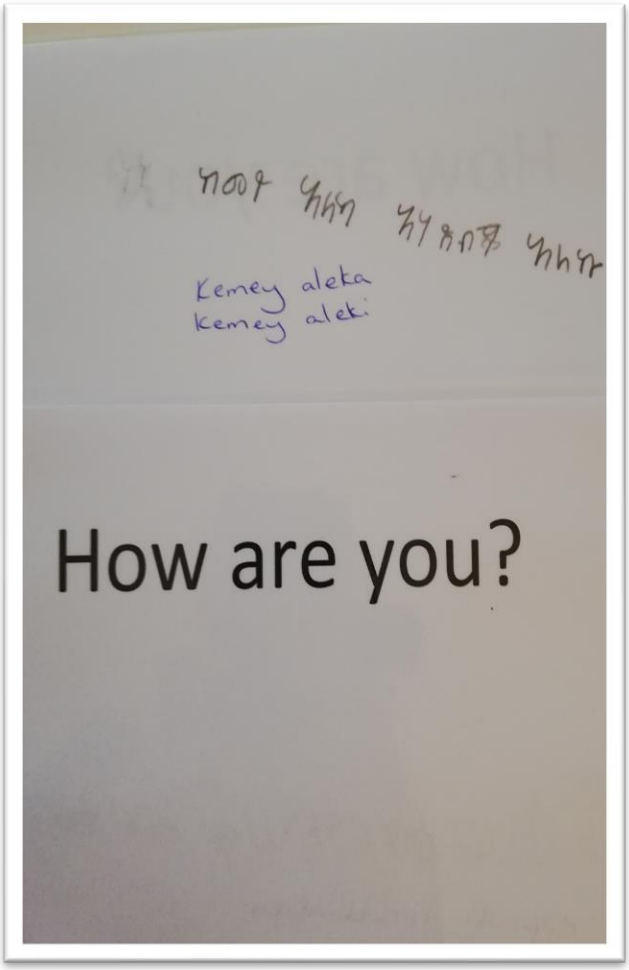
Kemey aleka
Kemey aleki
How are you?

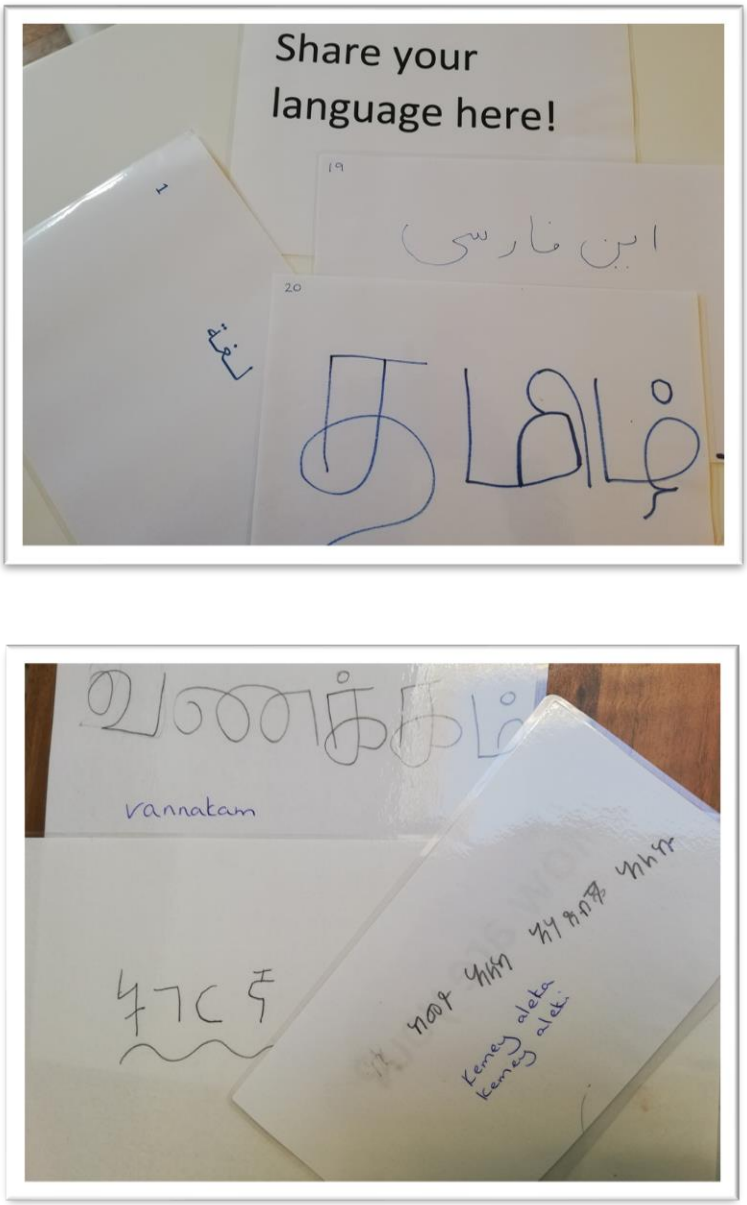

Figure 22 - Prompt cards from the Spring School

We move on to the languages café activity and I ask Semira, Lakmini and Rushani to take their place at each of the tables and hope this will not be too daunting. As with the introductions, I am careful to check they are confident and comfortable doing this. We have prepared simple prompt cards to support this task and I put these on each table for Lakimini, Rushani and Semira: How are you? What's your name? Where are you from? It's amazing to see Semira, Lakmini and Rushani working at each of their tables with the workshop participants supporting them. The prompt cards are helpful to guide the activity. There is another Tigrinya speaker who sits with Semira and also helps.

Figure 23 - The Spring School Workshop

After the languages cafe we move on to work on the poem together and I explain how we have created this together based on some of the key themes from our learning sessions. Lakmini looks shy as she realises that her work, her handwriting, is going to be given out to everyone. I notice this and I ask her if it's ok, making sure our 'ethics of care' are always present. She says 'ok' and looks proud. We read the poem together and pronounce the lines in Tigrinya, Farsi and Tamil and then we invite the workshop participants to add their own languages to the poem.

Lakmini and Rushani need to leave soon after the workshop so I take them to the bus stop, give them directions and travel tokens, offering to go with them but they say it's not necessary. Rushani tells me she is happy. I wait with them until the bus arrives and wave them off. Semira says she wants to stay at the event, so she sits in for the next session and chats to the other Tigrinya speaker.

(Spring School fieldnotes)

There is pride in these acts of linguistic identity in presenting our multilingual work. For someone walking into the room it was not clear who was leading the workshop, who was a participant, a refugee, a teacher, a university professor, a student. The labels 'non-native speaker', 'asylum seeker', 'refugee' were irrelevant. We co-existed as 'human beings in language' (García, 2020), as 'languagers' who 'move in the world in a way that allows the risk of stepping out of one's habitual ways of speaking and attempt to develop different, more relational ways of interacting' (Phipps, 2011, p. 365). This broader understanding of language is intercultural communication, a decentring of which recognises the limits of verbal language and allows for broader multimodal repertoires of communication.

We were learning something from each other and crucially, as workshop participants, we were *listening* to Semira, Rushani and Lakmini as they taught us their languages. The workshop became a decolonising space in which to be heard. The languaging of a few basic phrases and nothing more apart from the space in which to listen and to be heard. A decolonising audibility.

Our classroom translanguaging had established these ways of working as a foundation and it felt natural by extension to work this way within the wider community. This was well received by the workshop participants as a collaborative endeavour which blurred the boundaries of roles and knowledge as a process of being and becoming (Moore et al., 2020). Rushani, Semira and Lakmini took ownership of this session using the languages present within the physical ecology of Glasgow as a superdiverse city, connecting the local with the global. As Moore et al. (2020) note, translanguaging 'reflects the multiplicity, fluidity, mobility, locality and globality of the resources deployed by individuals for engaging in the complex meaning – making processes' (p.2).

The following week, Semira told me she thought the Spring School was 'great, it was nice' and 'I was happy to share what we're doing.' I was pleased this was such a positive experience for all of us.

'Using my own language in class gives me power'

> *'It's quite good when you are able to teach me in my own language, it gave me power. It empowered me. I thought "Oh,*

she's able to teach me by my own language so why not?" I will learn English. It empowered me to learn and to come each time.' (Semira, interview 2)

Semira's powerful words strongly underline how well this approach suited her. I felt she was generous in saying that I was 'able' to teach her in her own language as we both knew how limited my Tigrinya was; however, the simple ability and willingness to give a word in Tigrinya alongside English was enough for Semira to feel 'empowered to learn'.

Our multilingual practices addressed the unequal power relations on which investment is based by opposing the 'subordinate student identities' which Norton (2013) warns can be created within typical teacher/student power relations, in turn impacting on motivation. Working multilingually and reducing the status of English supported the development of a 'more empowering identity'(Canagarajah, 2011b, p. 20), allowing us to 'rethink our conceptions of the immigrant students we encounter in our classrooms' (Norton, 2013, p. 190). In the final interview, Semira told me using Tigrinya gave her 'confidence and independence'. The themes of power and identity were reflected in the key finding:

'Using my own language in class gives me power'

Semira's role as co-collaborator was highlighted during the interviews when I asked if she thought my Tigrinya was improving and she told me 'you're doing ok' and continued that she thought it would get better 'one day'. I noticed that Semira did not find it necessary to flatter me, she was honest about my attempts at Tigrinya yet also encouraging. I felt this also reflected the sense of balance in our relationship as she felt she could acknowledge that I was also learning. Despite our vastly different opportunities to access education, she could see how it was equally difficult for me to learn Tamil, Tigrinya and Farsi as it was for her to learn English, and I felt this boosted her confidence with coming to our learning sessions. This style of learning suited her, she *invested* in in our way of working together and found confidence in her role as co-collaborator and as my Tigrinya teacher. Phipps (2019b) notes how this sharing of power is essential, 'without engagement and a sharing of power and the

means of production with those who have been excluded from these means there can be no decolonising' (p.89).

'Other languages are bad there': Exploring attitudes to the use of refugees' own languages in monolingual settings

'Two-way integration is recognised in our class' (key finding)

During the interviews, I explained the aims of the New Scots Strategy (Scottish Government, 2018) and asked if participants could see the 'two–way' process and 'integration from day one' within the project. Semira and Yasmine confirmed they could see this was part of the project and we drew this into our key findings document (Appendix A).

At the start of the project, only Yasmine had experience of learning in an ESOL class in Scotland. Partway through the main study Lakmini also started studying at college. The experiences of participants who had not attended typically monolingual classes to improve their English and the contrasting experiences of those who had only attended these sessions was reflected in the interviews.

As Semira, Lakmini and Rushani had not attended other ESOL classes at the start of the project they seemed accepting of our translanguaging practices. We started off with this embedded in our pedagogical practices and this was their first experience of attending a language class here they had nothing to compare it to. The situation for Yasmine was different as she had already studied ESOL at college and was continuing to study. When she joined the project after the pilot, she checked with me repeatedly when I asked to use Farsi in class as this contrasted the way she was used to learning English and this took her a few sessions to get used to.

In the final interview, both Lakmini and Yasmine reflected on their experiences in our sessions and the differences with their college ESOL classes. Lakmini told me: 'Here we feel comfortable to speak among ourselves in our language we can understand. There we're not allowed to speak in Tamil, the language is English, and we have to talk in English. Other languages are bad there.'

This was a strong statement from Lakmini, who had just turned 18. I found this hard to hear, having worked as part of the ESOL community for many years. This

was her impression of how learners' languages were viewed within her ESOL class. Not only were they not built into classroom practice as a resource and as part of identity, but she understood the use of Tamil, her own language, was 'bad' and 'not allowed' in her class.

Lakmini's comment calls into question monolingual pedagogy and the way this is perceived by learners and the message that strictly excluding learners' own languages gives. This has implications for how learners perceive the value of their language and the role of language in identity reconstruction, particularly within the crucial first weeks of settling into a new country. Feeling your language is 'bad' and 'not allowed' points more towards linguistic assimilation than the more progressive 'two–way process' laid out in policies such as New Scots and learning in 2+ language policy for heritage languages in schools.

Such a view is also damaging in terms of the position of English and other languages within global linguistic hierarchies. The 'pecking order' of languages is painfully clear with English having 'the sharpest beak' (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996, p. 429). As Simpson (2020) notes, monolingualism in the ESOL classroom is often unquestioned and unexamined.

Psycholinguistic research also evidences that multilinguals activate information from all known languages even when they are only using one of their languages actively (Kroll & Bialystok, 2013). Haugen's interaction between languages in the mind (Haugen, 1972) is always present. We are not striving for 'monolingual competence'(Auer, 2007) but rather a wider and richer linguistic repertoire. Accepting the idea of repertoire means a recalibration of the aims and objectives within the language learning classroom. Participants told me they felt their languages were 'valued and recognised' within our sessions and we added this as one of our key findings. Working multilingually should not be a case of 'allowing' participants to use their own languages but rather embedded within a holistic approach which is necessarily ecological and built collaboratively.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have discussed the third ecology: language and languaging and I have explored how the research findings support a case for multilingual working as an ethical necessity within the first weeks of acclimatising to the physical

ecology of Glasgow. I have explored the practical benefits of making connections between languages as part of the learning process, highlighting the significance of linguistic repertoire and collective language ecologies. I have also evidenced the impact beyond pedagogy of taking a translanguaging stance.

The participants' feedback, presented in this chapter in their own words, is very powerful as it clearly evidences how beneficial this approach to learning was. The participants told me they felt 'empowered to learn', that learning multilingually built their confidence and made them feel comfortable. By repositioning the place of English in our work we were able to incorporate linguistic hospitality and work more collaboratively to bring the 'two–way' integration on which New Scots is based directly into our work.

In the following and final chapter, I draw together the three ecologies to conclude this thesis and I make a case for an 'ecologising' of language learning. I make recommendations for how such an approach could be harnessed to benefit New Scots. I then make a case for a broader interdisciplinary base for applied linguistics within this 'ecologising' to incorporate learning from the fields of human geography and intercultural research which underpin the three ecologies I have outlined within the three discussion chapters.

Chapter Nine: Conclusions and recommendations

'I thought "Oh, she's able to teach me by my own language, so why not? I will learn English." It empowered me to learn and to come each time' (Semira, interview 2)

Introduction

In this final chapter I conclude my thesis by drawing together the three ecologies of relationships, place and language and I emphasise how these intersect to form the 'ecologising' of language learning which I proposed in the previous chapters. I begin by summarising the key findings and illustrating how key threads travel through the thesis from the initial starting point of the policy and literature reviews through the empirical chapters to the conclusions I draw here.

In this chapter, I also highlight the importance of this research and state my contribution to knowledge, I revisit the original lines of inquiry and discuss how these were reframed by the emergence of the three ecologies. I then consider the appropriacy and degree of success of the CPAR model and discuss the limitations of the study before concluding by summarising my recommendations for future research.

In this thesis, I have shown that an ecological, multilingual approach to language learning is effective and welcome with reunited refugee families at the point of arrival. I have shown the need for, and benefits of such an approach which is grounded in ethical intercultural relationships, orientation, and multilingualism. I have illustrated linguistic hospitality as two-way integration and shown that it does not matter if the teacher cannot speak the same languages as the learners and I have provided examples of the impact beyond pedagogy of such an approach.

Synthesis of research findings: Returning to the lines of inquiry

Through the process of crystallization and by piecing the research together in the manner of a bricoleur (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008), I began to understand the findings as the three ecologies guided, but not restricted by, my initial lines of inquiry. This openness was fundamental to the way the research was carried out, drawing on the eclecticism as method I discussed in Chapter three. I believe the development of the three ecologies coupled with the broader interdisciplinary base (which I return to under 'recommendations') resulted in broader, richer findings which fitted with the holistic nature of the research. However, as I pieced together the findings, I realised that much of what I had explored also answered my initial questions. In this section I illustrate how the findings respond to these initial lines of inquiry.

1. What can we learn from language learning support for refugees in the Welsh and German contexts and how can this learning be applied to the Scottish context?

The fieldwork in Wales highlighted the benefits of an informal start to language learning, mirroring the community classes led by the third sector in Glasgow discussed in Chapter one.

The Welsh ESOL Strategy suggest tutors include Welsh within ESOL classes to ensure that refugees are aware that Wales is a bilingual country and that there are two languages in use. However, the findings highlighted that the success of this approach and the extent to which Welsh is included, is dependent on individual tutors and their personal attitudes towards Welsh.

ESOL learners in Wales and Scotland face similar barriers to language learning with long waiting lists and insufficient childcare provision. I hoped to find examples of translanguaging within ESOL classrooms in Wales that I could draw on in the pilot study in Scotland, but instead this part of the fieldwork highlighted that languages are mostly kept separate within ESOL learning and teaching in Wales. I found the translanguaging pedagogy widely used in schools to work between Welsh and English does not transfer to language learning for refugees either in terms of incorporating learners' home languages or Welsh.

The visit to the BRC in Newport highlighted that women arriving through family reunion require additional support. This finding shaped the teaching study in Scotland as it underlined the need for a gentle, intergenerational approach which was necessarily multilingual.

The fieldwork in Germany had greater relevance at structural level due to the better model of funding which results in faster access and the absence of lengthy waiting lists identified as a barrier in Wales and Scotland. The interviews with the sector specialists underlined the rigidity of the nationally funded integration courses. The focus on accuracy and grammar was viewed as too restrictive which contrasts the benefits of the informal starting point for language learning recognised as a strength in both Scotland and Wales. The findings also underlined that this focus on accuracy and grammar results in learners of German feeling cautious to speak before they feel confident with German's complex grammar rules, a finding which highlighted the importance of 'languaging' within the fieldwork in Scotland.

The overview of my visit to the GRC language school in Frankfurt highlighted a similarly monolingual approach to learning German as found in Wales and Scotland. The interviews evidenced similar beliefs to those found in the UK that it would not be possible to incorporate learners' languages due to the wide range of languages present within multilingual classes and a lack of teacher knowledge of the learners' languages. This confirmed a lack of knowledge of translanguaging and contrasted the principles of the translanguaging disposition and stance that I introduced in Chapter two and returned to in Chapter eight.

Combining the findings from Wales and Germany highlighted the benefits of quick access to language learning, better funding and the importance of starting with informal classes at the point of arrival. The absence of less formal flexible learning opportunities in Germany also supported this view.

The findings also highlighted firmly held beliefs in both contexts about the need for language separation and that teachers need to know the languages well to be able to incorporate them in learning and teaching. I found a lack of knowledge of the principles of translanguaging both in terms of its practical application and the impact of such an approach (which reinforced the findings in the literature discussed in Chapter two). These findings shaped the fieldwork in Scotland by

emphasising the need for further exploration of an ecological multilingual approach at the point of arrival as part of informal language learning support.

2. How can we better support reunited refugee families in Scotland through an ecological and multilingual approach to language learning?

To answer this line of inquiry I focus on the findings that relate to '*how'* we can better support reunited refugee families with this approach.

The findings clearly point to the success of a gentle, informal multilingual approach at this key stage of integration

In Chapter one I highlighted that due to insufficient funding, demand for ESOL outstrips what is available in Scotland. In Chapter two I highlighted the gendered nature of language learning and of integration in a more general sense. More people come to the UK through family reunion than all other routes combined and 95% of people arriving in this way are women and children. My conversations with the BRC highlighted that women arriving through family reunion have specific needs beyond the difficulties which women face more generally in terms of language learning support. I problematised what the 'right kind of ESOL' and the 'accessible' provision noted in the ESOL Strategy might be for this particular group of women during their first few weeks adjusting to life as New Scots. I drew attention to the fact that most current language learning provision is based on an idea of integration and progression linked to the jobs market and questioned whether this is the best fit at this particular stage, an issue I returned to in the discussion chapters.

Although informal provision exists through the community classes delivered by a range of third sector providers, the participants in this research told me they did not feel confident to attend even such informal classes at this very early stage. One of the key findings of this research is that there is a stage which comes before the informal community classes currently on offer and that this initial informal learning was enhanced as a direct result of being delivered multilingually. This informal approach was also enhanced by the fact that the women could attend our sessions with their children and that they knew they would be meeting other women who had also recently arrived through family reunion.

By the end of the project, two of the women moved on to community ESOL classes, evidencing the confidence they had built through this project. This important initial stage was grounded in accompaniment, orientation and showing by meeting the participants at the BRC offices and traveling with them on the bus to the University and providing practical support through orientation style activities to help them to get to know the local area. This led to the key finding, 'It was helpful to cover topics for everyday life like getting the bus, food, shopping, money, introductions' (shown in Appendix A)

The practical benefits of a multilingual approach

The participants' newness to Glasgow was also mirrored in their newness to learning English. At the start of the project no one knew more than just a few words of English and I found the multilingual approach particularly necessary given this starting point. Had we worked solely in English our communication would have been limited to just a few words.

In practical terms, the participants told me using their own language together with English was simply 'better' for them at this stage. Rushani told me using Tamil helped her with accuracy because she knew 'the exact definition'. This finding was shown further by Semira telling me, 'even though it's difficult, because you told me in Tigrinya I understand.' Our work evidenced that home languages are always the foundation for comprehension and that we learn new language through language we already know. This was further illustrated through the key finding 'using my own language helps me to learn' (Appendix A).

The approach also built on the participants' existing linguistic knowledge and recognised the great many skills and experience the women brought with them to the study. Our work drew on their capabilities and as a result, participants told me using their own language in class built their confidence, resulting in the key finding, 'using my own language in class gives me power' (Appendix A). This power and confidence was further shown by their participation at the Spring School (Chapter seven) and their ability to teach small groups their own languages as part of the workshop.

Stances, dispositions and visibility

I found a commitment to a translanguaging stance, disposition and openness to other languages a key success. Rather than needing to be able to speak the participants' languages well it was sufficient to have an openness to including their languages, a commitment to translanguaging rather than a fixed pedagogy by increasing the visibility of other languages and recognising their place within our learning. Comparing and contrasting languages was well received, enhancing metalinguistic awareness as a result. We found simple multilingual worksheets supported this learning and that starting each session with a phrase in Tamil, Tigrinya or Farsi worked well to set the tone for each session. We also found that technology was a helpful tool to support multilingual practices, a strategy which connected to how language is used outside the classroom.

It was important that the learning responded to the context of 'day one' of integration and orientation to place

Einar Haugen's 'language ecology' (1972) provided a foundation from which to understand two key elements on which this study is grounded, namely the interconnections between language and environment and the interaction between languages in the mind. I found this approach necessitated openness as it explored how language responds to the context, a concept which I brought into my study through orientation-style activities.

Taking the learning outside the classroom was vital and helped us to build skills together in taking the bus and getting to know the local area. Activities in class helped to build confidence with practical topics such as shopping, using the bus and going to the doctor. The participants confirmed that the practical topics they had chosen helped them in their daily lives and situated the learning as orientation to the physical ecology.

I considered how the project remained true to the definition of the 'social and natural environment' within Haugen's (1972) language ecology. After problematising understandings of 'context' and 'environment', I settled on an understanding of 'place' drawn from human geography as bearing most relevance for this work as it allows for the connections that people make in a human and embodied way rather than an understanding of 'context' focused on

the system of integration. An understanding of home, drawn from human geography was also central to our work and this included a sense of belonging in parallel realities. We found ritual and familiarity connected to place and concepts of home through the acts of making coffee and tea together a key part of welcome within this liminal phase.

Our experiences of learning ecologically acknowledged the significance of the physical aspects that Ingold (2011) describes and I found these compatible with Haugen's description of 'physical environment'. I found our total sensory participation to be part of our embodied experience as part of 'languaging'.

I connected the layered simultaneity in Chapter two with our fieldwork by the example of Semira pointing out the church to me. The process of connecting old and new, known and not yet known runs throughout the project and is mirrored within the ecology of language in Chapter eight.

Presenting our work together at the Spring School to an unfamiliar audience in an unfamiliar place showed both increased confidence and trust whilst illustrating the support this required. I highlighted the importance of this work outside the classroom rather than working solely within the niche of the classroom. Our work showed that these early stages need gentle support, grounded in orientation with space for accompaniment and showing.

3. What significance does this approach have in terms of identity, empowerment, and the dominance of English within the process of language learning?

I have answered this line of inquiry by considering the impact beyond pedagogy of such an approach, drawing on the findings in Chapter eight. I understand this in simple terms as the question '*why* use such an approach?

Countering monolingual approaches has broader implications and calls into question the practice architecture of the unexamined monolingual norm

The gap between policy, practice, and the literature points towards the need to counteract the dominant monolingual/social cohesion narrative through suitable pedagogies which highlight linguistic diversity in a positive way. This relates to increasing understandings and knowledge of linguistic diversity and connecting the way languages are taught within the local language ecology. Phipps (2019b)

notes how she speaks far too many colonial languages and questions the usefulness of them for communicating with refugees. If Arabic, Tigrinya, Farsi and Tamil were taught in schools in Glasgow this would respond better to the local ecology and better equip people for intercultural communication in this specific context.

I found Vertovec's (2007) superdiversity fundamental to understanding the physical ecology of Glasgow and its role as a dispersal city that I outlined in Chapter one. Connecting repertoire and collective language ecologies allowed us to 'bring the outside in' (Roberts & Baynham, 2006) which is necessary because the UK is not monolingual. Scotland is officially multilingual and Glasgow, as Scotland's largest city, is superdiverse with many languages and cultures present. There is a need for language learning to catch up with our increasingly globalised world. As Simpson (2020) notes, it does not make sense that we teach people how to be more multilingual by using methods based on monolingualism.

The need for 'languaging', not grammatical perfection

In Chapter two I called into question the pursuit of native speaker-like competence (Auer, 2007). I found Wei's (2017) connections to the concept of 'languaging' particularly relevant for this study and central to the dialogical nature of our intercultural communication outlined in Chapters six, seven and eight. I found it did not matter that I could not speak their languages well or that during the course of our project none of us were likely to reach native speaker-like competence. It was important instead that we *languaged* together. This finding was also underpinned by the finding in Germany that refugees lack confidence to try to speak German as there is such an emphasis on the need for grammatical accuracy within the integration course.

For us there could be no waiting for perfection. We needed to communicate in whatever bits of language we had, verbal, semiotic, body language - we needed it all. Using this approach helped to build confidence, seeing me struggle to communicate in Tigrinya, Farsi and Tamil also illustrated that we prioritised human dialogical interaction rather than striving for grammatical perfection which would have been an unrealistic goal and demotivating at this stage. As García and Wei (2014b) found, translanguaging 'shows students how to privilege

interaction and collaborative dialogue over form and thus develops their voice'(p.112).

Impact of decolonising

The collaborative research design was shaped by both a decolonising methodology and decolonising teaching pedagogy, drawing on Phipps' (2019b) 'decolonising multilingualism'. I found the collaborative approach and ethical intercultural relationships both in terms of the CPAR research design and the position of English to be welcomed by the participants. Drawing on my decisions to implement this approach counteracted the narrative of one nation/one language and social cohesion, fitting also with the translanguaging approach in Chapter two and the collaborative approach of New Scots. Participants showed their investment in this way of working as they weighed up the difficult journey against the benefits of coming to our sessions. Semira told me 'we're hoping to learn more that's why we have to do that. I come because this is helping me'. This investment was further evidenced by their participation in the interviews and the long, considered responses they gave.

The discussion on translanguaging in Chapter two recognises the impact of a multilingual approach which I mirror within the research findings in Chapter eight, drawing on the balance of power in the classroom, the implications for social justice and the opportunity to place learners at the centre of their own learning, echoing the priorities of New Scots in recognising refugees' own skills.

The findings in Chapter six which focus on the relationships within the project were particularly relevant to this line of inquiry as they evidence the positive impact of our mutual, respectful, co-learning relationships. I noted the importance of the principles of the feminist ethics of care, taking comfort in Noddings' (2012) 'latitudinal knowledge' by stating my commitment to this openness as part of an ethical responsibility to the participants. My own position in the research was shaped by drawing on Butler's (2005) 'account of oneself' and understanding the reciprocity of these relationships.

In highlighting the balance of power created through the decolonising and translanguaging approach, I illustrated how quickly this built comfort and increased our familiarity with each other. I drew on the embedded mutual

consideration and wellbeing which García and Wei (2014b) note as integral to a co-learning relationship to illustrate the impact of this, showing also the importance of ritual and familiarity in building these relationships.

The importance of recognising liminality and fragility and the impact on relationships and identity reconstruction

The fragility of our relationship within the early weeks of the project necessitated high levels of emotional labour, nurture and trust. I illustrated how invested the participants were in the research and emphasised the significance of the wider pedagogical interactions in evidencing investment such as Semira often arriving early and helping me to set up.

The gender dimension to our work meant we found common ground as women and mothers of primary school-aged children, and I returned again to Butler's (2005) 'account of oneself' to ground this discussion in Chapter six. My linguistic incompetence combined with the collaborative approach had a significant impact and led to the key finding; 'using my own language in class gives me power' (Appendix A).

I found that traditional social structures appeared to be suspended within this liminal phase of creating a new identity in a host community. By understanding the project as a liminal space and drawing on an understanding of communitas (Turner, 1969), I recognised this created openness for new dynamics to become established. This disruption further contributed to the decolonising of our work as it shifted the balance of power in favour of the participants.

The impact of linguistic incompetence as solidarity and mutuality

My own position in the research was fundamentally shaped by participating as learner (García & Wei, 2014b, p. 94), bringing a sense of vulnerability to my own role. The impact of facilitating translanguaging in languages I do not know is at the heart of this thesis and underpins the relationships I explored in Chapter six. Semira identified my attempts at Tigrinya as a 'struggle' and the significance of her telling me this highlighted both how firmly she believed this and also her increased confidence to make these observations directly to me. Despite my struggle, she told me that the fact I was 'able' to teach her in Tigrinya was enough to make her feel 'empowered to learn' and to come each week. She also

told me that my Tigrinya was improving ‘little by little by little’ which showed both her understanding and encouragement towards me and the acceptance that it would take time for all of us to learn each other’s languages. The findings clearly show that my lack of knowledge of their languages, did not matter at all, it was not a barrier. In fact, it was a strength of our project.

My participating as learner enabled solidarity and mutuality. It brought symmetry into our language learning in a way that was both genuine and visible. It validated the place of their languages, it reduced the position of English and it reduced my power and control, illustrating genuine linguistic hospitality as part of the two-way integration laid out in New Scots. Semira told me she could see we were ‘equal unknown’, that we were ‘the same’ and that my struggle to learn Tigrinya was ‘just like’ her efforts to learn English. Linguistic hospitality was evidenced through the key finding; ‘using my own language in class made me feel welcome and comfortable’ (Appendix A).

I found the ‘receptive listening’ which Noddings (2012) describes as part of this relationship to be vital. The need to understand audibility as multilingual as an ethical necessity which I found by stepping back to create space for the participants’ voices to genuinely be heard cannot be underestimated. The participants’ descriptions of the impact of using their own languages in class are powerful and showed that the benefits of this approach went far beyond pedagogy.

Intergenerational relationships

Intergenerational relationships played an important role in the research and this was one of the original areas that the BRC identified as requiring further research at the start of the project. The mother/daughter relationships present in our work provided three interesting contrasts due to the ages of the daughters: 5, 10 and 17. The two older daughters were able to work with their mothers in their own languages which was shown to be useful and supportive. As Yasmine’s daughter was only five this was a different dynamic which I found had greater significance of overcoming the barrier of childcare highlighted in Chapters one and four. Another important finding was that the families enjoyed learning together and could practise this work at home, enabling better home –

class connections and extending our work beyond the learning sessions into the participants' home lives.

In Chapter seven I highlighted the challenges the women experienced by arriving in Scotland long after their husbands and the imbalance that this created in terms of their own independence. I highlighted the pressure and frustration that Yasmine and Semira felt to improve their English quickly. I recognised the impact of the husbands' support of the project, and that such support may not always be present, which is one of the barriers highlighted in the New Scots report (Scottish Government et al., 2017) that I discussed in Chapter one. This finding underlines the importance of this family support.

Recognising existing skills and existing languages

The concept of linguistic repertoire was shown to be important both within the literature in Chapter two and in my own findings. It connected to identity by highlighting the learners' languages and illustrating the importance and value of them in our work. Acknowledging existing linguistic knowledge and skills also enabled the participants to find confidence that they were not starting at the very beginning and that the languages they already knew had value and significance. These connections were fundamental to our approach and went far beyond the benefits of practical scaffolding.

The translanguaging stance we adopted appeared to be particularly beneficial at this very early stage of language learning. For the BRC it is usual for initial support sessions for other services to have interpreters and, as a result, learners are able to communicate in their own languages at this point, which contrasts the approach to current initial ESOL sessions which tend to be solely English.

The ecological, multilingual approach we took certainly had practical benefits however, it is the impact beyond pedagogy that I feel provides the strongest findings in this research and as such the whole thesis drives towards this last discussion in Chapter eight. I observed how the sessions prioritised what the participants could do rather than what they could not and even at this early stage how the use of their own languages 'enhanced interpersonal interaction' Swain and Lapkin (2000). It also served to bring my own vulnerability in this new role to the fore.

Bringing the ecologies together: Connecting the interconnected

In this thesis, I have problematised and explored an understanding of 'the right kind of ESOL' for women arriving in Scotland through family reunion by providing a real-world example of how an ecological, multilingual approach to language learning can be implemented within this specific context. I have given the reasons why this approach is both appropriate and effective. By drawing on decolonising and collaborative approaches to both research and to language learning, I have presented an approach grounded in the concepts of 'two-way' integration which I have situated as part of welcome from 'day one'.

Through the findings within the ecology of **relationships,** I evidenced the benefits of a decolonising, collaborative co-learning relationship brought into the CPAR spiral and connecting with the constructs of translanguaging and a co – learning relationship. The research showed the importance of the ethics of care by working in a small group which gave us opportunities for increased support by working closely together and taking our time to labour and rest. The multilingual approach was significant because it impacted the balance of power in our work, bringing a symmetry clearly recognised by the participants. The intergenerational relationships illustrated the benefits and support that come with learning with family members and how translanguaging naturally fits with this dynamic as it mirrors the way that languages are used in real life.

In terms of **place,** the findings clearly point towards the need for orientation style activities as shown by the topics requested by the participants. They told me they found our learning together 'practical' and that they were able to use this learning to help them in their daily lives. The more human understanding of place that we uncovered in our work allowed for connections with human geography and anthropology which are present within the work of getting to know a city as part of orientation to the physical ecology. The participants faced challenges with the weather due to the specific factors within the cold, windswept and often very wet physical ecology of Glasgow. Our learning together outside the classroom showed the importance of the accompaniment and showing which Woitsch (2012) also recognises as significant within intercultural work.

In terms of **language,** the findings strongly point towards the benefits of a multilingual approach. An approach the participants told me they simply found 'better' both in practical terms, and as I have illustrated, brought significant benefits beyond pedagogy. This thesis calls for decolonising as part of pedagogy and for consideration of the unexamined norm of teaching monolingually to create space within language learning for learners' home languages which has particular relevance at the point of arrival when people may feel all else is lost. Bringing their own languages into the learning process at the point of arrival quickly enabled participants to connect with the local context in a meaningful way. The findings clearly show that it did not matter than I did not know the participants' languages, a finding supported by Simpson (2020) who also notes that teachers do not need to know much of the learners' languages for translanguaging to work well.

The three ecologies of relationships, place and language combine to form a more human understanding of language learning as mutual integration. The ecologies of place, relationship and language are porous, their boundaries are blurred by definition due to the interconnectedness of each dimension and to the approach as a whole. The combined approach is fundamentally shaped by the physical context, the liminal phase of arrival and orientation coupled with collaborative, decolonising intercultural relationships grounded in linguistic hospitality.

The exploration and problematising of the definition of 'integration' is central to the development of the three ecologies outlined within this thesis. It calls for more joined up thinking to connect the ideas on multilingual approaches laid out in the academic literature with teaching and learning with a specific focus on the needs of reunited families.

Summary of key recommendations

Integration from day one needs support for mutual language learning from day one

Put simply, integration from day one needs support from day one. This means faster access to opportunities for language learning than those currently in place and, in the case of reunited families, this requires specialist support complemented by a softer understanding of the human side of integration based

on mutual learning at the point of arrival. A better system of sustainable, secure funding is needed to enable more multilingual support in the initial first weeks as family members join their partners and contend with the imbalance that the current system creates. This should include language learning provision which better connects policy, academic literature and practice and closer consideration of the unexamined monolingual norm (Simpson, 2020).

Scotland, with its history of welcoming newcomers and Glasgow with its twenty years of welcoming dispersed asylum seekers and strong and well-recognised third sector networks, is ideally placed to embrace the translanguaging stance outlined within this thesis. This could be put into practice by drawing on the experiences I have outlined and the work of CUNY-NYSIEB in the USA and closer to home, the TLANG project outlined in Chapter two. Bringing this learning into current practice would complement existing ESOL provision and allow for further development to meet the specific needs of these families.

Although the New Scots Strategy has gained international recognition as a successful approach to refugee integration, the lack of funding attached to the strategy makes it difficult to achieve its aims which in turn risks the strategy becoming ineffective. The findings of this thesis point strongly to the need for funding to be attached to New Scots to allow the third sector organisations, already recognised for their expertise in this area, the capacity to support refugees with language learning from day one. The approach outlined here provides one way forward.

Collaboration and decolonising

A collaborative and decolonising approach was found to be successful and brought a range of positive benefits. There is power and agency in the acts of labour and resting explored within this thesis. The balance created by this stepping up and stepping back points to the success of a collaborative, decolonising approach. By drawing on the participants' own skills and experience in a way which is genuinely mutual, the participants were able to shape their own learning even at this early stage, putting the collaborative approach within New Scots into practice.

Lack of English should not be viewed as a barrier to creating more collaborative approaches, instead more consideration needs to be given to how we can facilitate more symmetrical relationships within learning and teaching and in what contexts this is most appropriate. To embed such approaches within existing provision may require a shift within teacher training to reconsider traditional teacher/learner roles but would complement current informal community ESOL provision and bring the wider benefits of increased understanding and a shift in power dynamics.

Support intergenerational learning with a multilingual approach

The decolonising relationship and balance of power allowed space for learners to take a more active role in their own learning. Mothers learning with their children and translanguaging together, allowed for confidence building within these initial stages and good connections between home and our learning sessions. Translanguaging goes hand in hand with intergenerational work as it was natural for the family members to work together and support each other in their own languages.

Tailored support for family members who are joining their partners here could mirror other BRC support which already has a multilingual starting point. Such learning sessions/introductory courses would form a natural transition between the point of arrival and community ESOL classes. The appropriacy and effectiveness of a multilingual approach was evidenced by Rushani's experience as she felt that the work we had done together had enabled her to build her confidence and that, at the end of the project, she felt confident enough to attend a community ESOL class as a natural next step. This finding shows the need for more supported learning at this initial stage, which includes bringing the learning to the learners, and real-world support with orientation activities such as traveling on the bus based on the accompaniment and showing I highlighted in the previous section. It is difficult to include such activities and high levels of support within the remit of the current, underfunded system.

Embed translingual stances and multilingual approaches, regardless of whether the teacher knows the learners' languages or not

It was clear that it did not matter that I did not know the participants' languages well. It mattered that I was trying to use their languages and that their home languages had a recognised place in our learning.

To bring this approach into language learning at the point of arrival requires awareness-raising and training for ESOL tutors on the principles of the translanguaging stance I have outlined. This would increase an understanding of the impact of recognising both linguistic repertoire and the local ecology within teaching and learning and would move pedagogy forwards for our current times.

Lessons can be drawn from EAL into ESOL to create more acceptance of multilingual repertoire, bringing fluidity into the language learning process and changing perceptions of the boundaries between languages and the perceived need to keep languages separate. This could bridge the gap between the 'multilingual realities' of ESOL learners' lives (Simpson & Cooke, 2017) and the classroom and build confidence that teachers do not need to be able to speak all of the learners' languages to incorporate them within teaching and learning.

Although translanguaging mirrors the ways languages are used outside the classroom, translanguaging strategies do still need to be taught, practised and developed for both teachers and learners. Practical ways of increasing visibility of other languages within the classroom include starting each session with a phrase/greeting in one of the home languages and encouraging learners to work together in their own languages. Such approaches would complement existing work. No specific teaching materials are required as we found through the successful use of existing published materials. Asking learners to make notes in their own language supported the benefits of comparing languages noted in the CUNY-NYSIEB guide and we found these useful strategies.

Learners' languages can be drawn on as a resource with an understanding of the importance of identity particularly for refugees who have come to the UK under the most difficult of circumstances. The translanguaging stance and disposition I have highlighted in this thesis is complementary to the informal community

classes which are currently in place in Glasgow and this could be trialled within such provision.

Connecting local to global

An ecological approach also has wider implications beyond the local ecology as it connects the local to the global. Prioritising English within language learning reinforces the dominance of English outside the classroom. As Skutnabb-Kangas and Philipson (1996) recognise, 'there are 2 paradigms; the diffusion of English paradigm or the ecology of English paradigm' (p. 429). English will continue to have the 'sharpest beak' (Phillipson & Skutnabb- Kangas, 1996) if we do not meaningfully consider and take steps to give other languages the space they need.

As we are already living in increasingly superdiverse cities, making our local language ecologies visible as a key part of language learning would bring benefits of increased understanding for all members of the host community and have an impact at both local and global levels. This is significant for the local language ecology as it brings benefits for the wider community. When people are able to speak each other's languages, this contributes to increased understanding and counteracts discourses of 'us' and 'them' which focus on language learning being the responsibility of those who are new to the community.

Applied linguistics needs a broader interdisciplinary base

Drawing on fields of intercultural research, anthropology, human geography and feminist care ethics created a necessary openness perhaps not always afforded within restrictive ESOL contexts when practitioners are fighting to provide essential ESOL classes within the current precariously funded system.

Language permeates every area of our lives and as such it was necessary for me to draw on a broad interdisciplinary base. I now consider the inclusion of this to be a strength of the thesis and a finding in its own right. In doing so the research makes a contribution to academic literature and highlights the way that 'latitudinal knowledge' (Noddings, 2012) can be drawn on to broaden

understandings of neighbouring fields which can also shape the ways that we understand factors which impact language learning.

This is one key area where an improved dialogue between practitioners and academics would bring benefits for both sides. Future academic studies could also draw on this finding to incorporate other fields within an understanding of the 'latitudinal knowledge' which Noddings (2012) suggests as part of an interdisciplinary approach. I believe this is part of decolonising and collaboration by allowing research to follow the direction of the findings within such emergent studies.

Improved connections and information sharing is needed between practitioners and academics

The success of the multilingual, ecological approach highlights the need for better connections between policy, practice and academic literature. A more joined-up approach would enable practice to draw more directly on current academic thinking and in turn, for academic thinking to be closer informed by real-world experiences and could be achieved by improved information sharing. Some steps towards this are already being taken by the online *ESOL Research Forum* coordinated by James Simpson which shares ESOL research and practice. More development and awareness-raising of this would further develop such strands of work and would be particularly beneficial within very specific contexts such as the case of women arriving through family reunion outlined in this thesis.

The ESOL Strategy and New Scots both emphasise the benefits of collaborative approaches. The importance of integration 'from day one' and of 'two-way integration' runs throughout this thesis and is central to an understanding of the relevance of this policy for the women who participated in this research. The emphasis on language within the refreshed New Scots Strategy highlights the importance of refugees' home languages and is not limited solely to improving English. Understanding these key recommendations formed an integral part of understanding *how* we can better support families arriving in this way. Combining academic literature with real-world practice supported why we should embrace such an approach and afforded me an understanding of multilingual alternatives. Continued and improved information sharing between

academics, policymakers and practitioners would allow for more joined-up thinking which in turn would enable ESOL delivery to trial such methods such as the translanguaging approach I have outlined.

An ecology of terms

Current terminology for describing learners of English defines people in limiting terms despite the more progressive terms used within New Scots. The term 'New Scots' is used to refer to refugees in Scotland and is recognised as an ideological shift towards more inclusive terminology which is not marked from a place of deficit. However, within language learning the predominantly used term remains 'non-native speaker' which epistemologically construes as people 'ever learners' (Prada & Turnbull, 2018, p. 10) holding people to an unattainable monolingual standard. This deficit is embedded in our ways of negotiating understanding as this is the widely used term.

The term 'New Scots' could be extended to language learning as a more progressive and inclusive term to replace the term 'non-native speaker'. In the USA García and Kleifgen (2010) suggests 'emergent bilingual' to counteract terms which are based on deficit, noting the positive impact of both learners and teachers using terms which recognise multilingualism as a resource. Scotland has already begun this ideological shift and this could become more embedded within language learning through more consistent use of the term 'New Scots'. This shift also ties in with the key findings of empowerment, confidence, investment and identity which could be drawn further into more inclusive ways of integrating learners' identities with language learning.

Contribution to the field

The research provides a unique and necessary contribution to the field of applied linguistics as it examines the gap between policy, practice and academic literature, which clearly highlights the need for more exploration of translanguaging within specific contexts. As more refugees arrive in the UK through family reunion than all other routes combined, this thesis explores a valid and important context. Working with the BRC, the main provider of support to reunited families, who originally identified the need for this research, gives authenticity and validation to the research and complements the body of

existing BRC research on refugee support. In addition, Glasgow is important as a physical setting for the research due to its history as a dispersal centre and its significant refugee population. New Scots has also gained international recognition as a successful model for refugee integration and provides a solid policy context which recognises the importance of language.

Situating the research within the BRC FRIS provided a unique insight into the work of mutual integration at the point of family reunion and very soon afterwards, which BRC research (Marsden & Harris, 2015) highlights as being a particularly difficult period of transition. The fact that this work took place at 'day one' for the participants is a very significant focus of the research. Typically, it would take several weeks/ months before learners can access ESOL classes and, as such, it is difficult to provide data on the needs of those who have arrived so recently, i.e. the 'day one' on which New Scots is based. The fact the participants had been here just two weeks is crucial to the complexities of a true understanding of language learning at this early stage. Although this group of women are unique, 95% of family members arriving in the UK through family reunion are women and children and as such the findings are indicative and represent an example of what might work well for similar groups.

The partnership with the BRC and my own experience of working with refugees in Glasgow over the past 14 years enabled me to understand how to facilitate this work. As the participants were so newly arrived, this meant taking the research to them, inviting them, meeting them at the BRC offices and accompanying them to the University. Offering this support and solidarity of taking the bus together in the cold, dark evenings was crucial to facilitating the work, as were the travel tokens provided by the BRC. The absence of this level of support means that groups such as this are often referred to as being 'vulnerable' or 'hard to reach' which in turn results in fewer opportunities for such collaborative working and further highlights the contribution of this particular research.

In addition, the field of applied linguistics seeks to resolve real world problems; this context could hardly have been more real, and it provides both findings and suggestions for a real world solution which has already been illustrated as successful in other contexts. The approach outlined in this thesis is

complementary to existing community ESOL provision and allows for a broadening of techniques to enable better connections with literature and policy. The contribution is widened by the findings in Wales and Germany which further evidence the gap which this research seeks to address.

The effectiveness of the CPAR approach

Situating the project within an iterative spiral of CPAR brought an opportunity to connect both the global and the local simultaneously. The global factors which shaped the women's experiences of coming to the UK through family reunion were brought into contact with the local ecology of Glasgow, highlighting an understanding of the duality of home within the liminal space of these first few weeks and acknowledging the shifting identities present within this period of transition.

My initial literature review and my fieldwork in Germany highlighted the need for a more collaborative approach to language learning which is also mirrored in New Scots. Despite our limited shared language, together we found ways to shape the study, supported by the work of the interpreters at key points in the CPAR spiral. The findings showed that a lack of shared verbal language should not be a barrier for collaboration and that we need to find ways to enable collaboration, supported by the multilingual approach I have explored.

As CPAR is an ongoing longitudinal practice, which requires extensive time to evaluate its impact, it is too early to tell whether this research can be viewed as 'practice changing practice' which will have enough impact to change 'practice architectures' (Kemmis et al., 2014). I understand key practice architectures to be the unexamined norm of teaching monolingually and the restrictive funding landscape for language learning support in Scotland. By raising awareness of alternative multilingual approaches, I hope to initiate a dialogue on *how* and *why* translanguaging can be brought into language learning support for refugees and how this can complement existing provision. The research also serves to highlight the significant issues caused by the lack of funding attached to New Scots up to this point.

If we had had more time, I believe the participants would have been able to take an even more active role in shaping the research and the teaching study.

The research has the potential to effect change by changing the practice architectures outlined above and the partnership with the BRC and third sector networks in Glasgow provides a channel through which to explore this.

Limitations of study

I recognise that this study is limited in size as I worked only with a small number of participants within a very specific context. Also, due to the make-up of the group, we were not able to explore translanguaging outside each family group. Working with such a small group highlighted the high levels of support needed at this crucial stage in the participants' lives and had the group been much bigger it might have been difficult to provide so much personal engagement which resulted in such rich findings. As such, I believe this ‘limitation’ in size is actually a strength of the research. The study was never seeking statistical significance however, but rather providing the indicative conclusions which allow for further iterations of the spiral in each language learning and integration ecology.

The study was also limited to a certain extent by time. Although we extended our study twice, the participants were still reluctant to finish. I would have liked to extend the study further as it took time for us to establish our ways of working; doing so would have allowed deeper exploration of the key themes but I believe that the five months we worked together were long enough to give a good indication of how this approach would work longer term. The participants wish to extend the study further and my own observations highlight how much time is needed to progress with language learning from this starting point and also further underline the high levels of contact time and support required at this stage.

The fieldwork in Wales and Germany was limited to just five interviews with sector specialists and Red Cross staff in each context as it is not intended to be an in-depth analysis of each context but rather to serve as an introductory stage within the CPAR spiral. This stage of the research allowed me to consider language learning support within the context of Wales as another devolved nation within the UK and also Germany due to its high numbers of refugees. Having worked at a local level for the past 14 years in Glasgow, this allowed me

to see the bigger picture and to gain a broader understanding of issues facing reunited families in terms of language learning in both settings. I was able to bring this learning to the teaching study in Scotland.

In both cases, I did not find quite I was looking for, i.e. evidence and examples of multilingual teaching methods, but their absence further highlighted how far and wide and how firmly grounded the idea of language separation for language teaching and learning is. It showed me that an ecological, multilingual approach is not used in either of these settings and that the local language ecology is not strongly represented in either of these contexts. The inclusion of this part of the study raised important questions and further galvanised my determination to move in the direction of a teaching study to explore this gap in Scotland.

Future research directions

This research is indicative of how an ecological, multilingual approach might work and might be received with other groups and in other settings. One extension of this work would be to trial such an approach with the Red Cross branches in both Newport and Frankfurt and to deliver a study in each setting. Transposing this approach to different ecologies would allow for further exploration of orientation within specific host communities and would be of particular interest within the bilingual context of Wales. As the approach is defined by each ecology, this would allow scope for exploring what would work well in other places.

It would also be useful to explore how this approach would work with a larger group and with participants who shared a language beyond the family group. This would allow for a broader exploration of translanguaging between participants who are not related and provide further findings about the impact of mutual language learning on relationship building. A further extension to this research would also be to incorporate fathers or other family members within the learning sessions to enable whole families to learn together and further explore the impact of multilingual intergenerational learning.

As technology was used consistently in our work to translate and check meaning between languages, it would be useful to research this digital element further. Given that so many learning opportunities and ESOL classes have been delivered

online over the past nine months due to the pandemic this strand of research could also incorporate online learning and the use of technology to support multilingual practices.

The research would lead naturally into the development of a peer-led model for language learning by building on the ‘ecologising’ of language learning developed here and drawing on existing models of peer-led work already present within refugee integration support. Peer-led models such as the AVAIL project and ‘Sharing Lives, sharing languages’ (Hirsu & Bryson, 2017) have both been successful and this learning could be further developed as a basis for deeper collaboration between refugees and host communities. The participants' ability to teach their own languages to small groups of workshop participants at the Spring School is an indicator that such an approach might work well. Further development of such models would bring opportunities to learn from different models of education in refugees home countries.

Concluding remarks

I have written the last half of this thesis in lockdown during the COVID-19 pandemic. I consider how fortunate the participants and I were that we were able to work together face to face, to visit these local places together and to be able to have the simple human contact of learning together in the same room. A year later and the moments I have written about within this thesis that formed such a part of our work together - Semira grabbing my arm or touching my hand to say goodbye, sitting close to each other in a taxi, sharing coffee, delivering a workshop together, are all things we are not able to do at the present time. Further research will be needed in the coming months and years to understand more about the impact of these restrictions on language learning for refugees and integration more generally.

I have felt many aspects of my life converge within the process of this PhD, including my own experiences of learning, teaching and living in other languages and my long term understanding of how my linguistic knowledge interacts in my own mind. These understandings were my starting point and my endpoint for this work and the experiences I had within the three years of my PhD will shape my understanding of integration, language learning and intercultural relationships

for the years to come. Just as the participants' own languages and experiences were their starting point for how to understand our work from our first day at the bus stop. It has been an honour to work with this group of quiet, strong women and to share this important first step into their new lives in Glasgow.

As I consider how to conclude this final chapter, I know that the right words to end this thesis are not mine, but rightfully they are Semira's. This is the conclusion of an exploration of an approach which she told me made her feel 'empowered to learn'. What more could I, as a language teacher and a learner, ask for?

Thank you Semira, Lakmini, Rushani, Yasmine and Kamila for all you taught me. Your words will stay with me.

'You and me, we're the same…'

Appendix A

Key findings

Empowerment – using my own language in class gives me power

Using my own language in class helps me to learn

Two - way integration is recognised in our class

Using my language in class made me feel welcome and comfortable

It was helpful to cover topics for everyday life like getting the bus, food, shopping, money, introductions

Balance of power – 'you're struggling with Tigrinya and I'm struggling with English'

I liked working in my own language with my children in the class

Using my own language supported my learning

Using my own language in class helped me at the beginning of learning English

Appendix B

University of Glasgow

College of Social Sciences

19/11/2018

Dear Sarah Cox

College of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Project Title: ***Language Ecologies***

Application No: 400180018

The College Research Ethics Committee has reviewed your application and has agreed that there is no objection on ethical grounds to the proposed study. It is happy therefore to approve the project, subject to the following conditions:

- Start date of ethical approval: _____1/11/18_____
- Project end date: _____30/9/2020_____
- Any outstanding permissions needed from third parties in order to recruit research participants or to access facilities or venues for research purposes must be obtained in writing and submitted to the CoSS Research Ethics Administrator before research commences. Permissions you must provide are shown in the *College Ethics Review Feedback* document that has been sent to you.
- The data should be held securely for a period of ten years after the completion of the research project, or for longer if specified by the research funder or sponsor, in accordance with the University's Code of Good Practice in Research: (https://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_490311_en.pdf) (Unless there is an agreed exemption to this, noted here).
- The research should be carried out only on the sites, and/or with the groups and using the methods defined in the application.
- Any proposed changes in the protocol should be submitted for reassessment as an amendment to the original application. The *Request for Amendments to an Approved Application* form should be used: https://www.gla.ac.uk/colleges/socialsciences/students/ethics/forms/staffandpostgraduateresearchstudents/

Yours sincerely,

Dr Muir Houston
College Ethics Officer

Muir Houston, Senior Lecturer
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Appendix C

University of Glasgow

College of Social Sciences

Participant Information Sheet

Researcher name: Sarah Cox

Research title: Language Ecologies

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide if you want to take part it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Thank you for reading this.

The aim of the research is to better understand how using participants' own languages and learning with people of different ages can help with learning ESOL. I hope the research will help to improve how we support refugees with their language learning. You do not have to take part in this research and you can choose to stop at any time. The research will be made up of ESOL learning activities, interviews and group interviews called 'focus groups'. You can choose what you would like to take part in. If you are happy to do an interview this will take no longer than 40 minutes. I might I ask if I can use some of your work as part of a report. This might include your writing or craft work, I will check with you if this is ok and you can say 'no' if you don't want this to happen.

Anything that you tell me will be kept private and your real name will not be used. Instead I will ask you to choose another name and I will use this in the research. Your personal information will be stored securely and won't be shared with anyone else.

Please note that confidentiality will be maintained as far as it possible, unless during our conversation I hear anything which makes me worried that someone might be in danger of harm, I might have to inform relevant agencies of this.

The information will be used to write up a piece of research for the University and the anonymised data will be shared with other researchers and other people working with refugees, including the Red Cross. It will be stored securely at the University and will be kept for 10 years after the project finishes. I will not share any personal details with anyone without your consent. British Red Cross staff and I will be the only people who know your personal details. All other information will have your name removed before it is shared with anyone in accordance with General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR). Please ask me if you are not sure about this.

This research has been approved by the Glasgow University College of Social Sciences Ethics Committee. If you have any questions please email me:

s.cox.1@research.gla.ac.uk

For further information including if you wish to complain please contact the College of Social Sciences Ethics Officer, Dr Muir Houston, email: Muir.Houston@glasgow.ac.uk

Appendix D

University of Glasgow

College of Social Sciences

Consent Form

Title of Project: Language Ecologies

Name of Researcher: Sarah Cox

I have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet for the research and have had the chance to ask questions.

I choose to participate and I understand I can stop at any time, without giving any reason. I understand that I can choose which activities I want to take part in.

I agree / do not agree (delete as applicable) to interviews being audio-recorded.

(I know that copies of transcripts will be returned to participants for checking.)

I understand that my real name will not be used.

I understand that my participation has nothing to do with my immigration status.

- All names and other material likely to identify individuals will be anonymised.
- The material will be treated as confidential and kept in secure storage at all times.
- The material will be kept in secure storage for use in future academic research
- The material may be used in future publications, both print and online.
- I understand that other researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.
- I understand that anonymous data will be shared with the British Red Cross

I agree/ do not agree to take part in this research study

I agree/do not agree to take part in the learning sessions

I agree/do not agree to take part in an interview

I agree/do not agree to take part in a focus group

I agree/do not agree to being photographed and for these photographs to be used in publications

I agree/do not agree to some of my work being used in publications (this will be checked with me before it is used)

Name of Participant …… Signature ……..

Date ……

Name of Researcher …… Signature ……..

Date ……

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